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An Irish Quarterly Review

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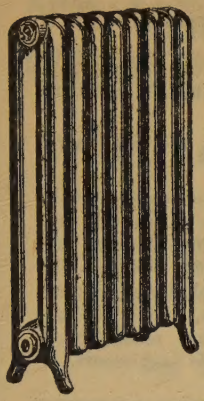

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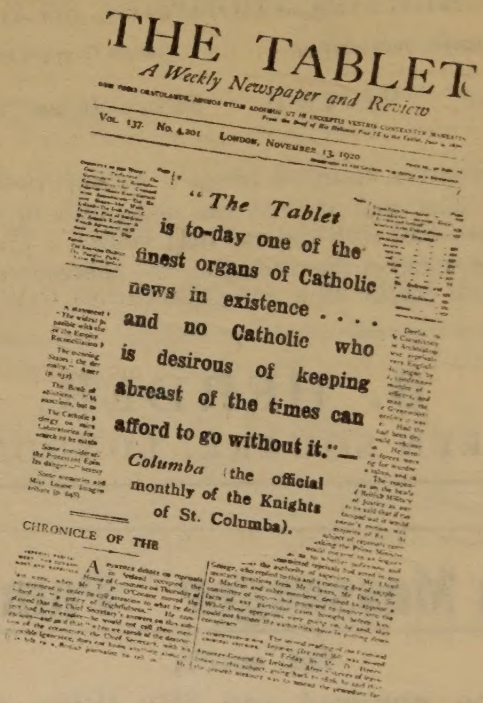
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MARCH 1930

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IN April 1929 the general assembly of the delegates of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics revised several of the fundamental laws—in particular the two decrees of January 1918 on the separation of Church and State and on the separation of School and Church. The new texts, dated 8 April 1929, were published in the *Izvestia* of April 26-28. Their publication and the events which have followed reveal a determination to suppress, once and for all and as soon as possible, every manifestation of religion—and even the existence of religion itself.

Religion is not yet universally proscribed; but external acts of worship are more and more watched, ridiculed, and penalised. Antireligious acts are more generally imposed, especially in the schools, and it is quite clear that we are on the eve of a new code of laws which will make all religion impossible. Article 13 of the Constitution of 19 July 1918, which became Article 4 of the Law of 11 May 1925, has been abrogated. This Article gave equal freedom of action to religious and to antireligious propaganda. The new laws, which annul also four decrees published between 1921 and 1923, limit themselves to a mere statement of fact; they recognise the existence of groups of believers—to be suppressed as soon as possible—but they no longer recognise, they no longer declare freedom of conscience, of worship, of religious propaganda. Freedom of antireligious pro-

[1] Extracts from a lecture delivered on Nov. 21 in the Great Hall of the Gesù, Rome, and repeated on Dec. 6 in the Palazzo Doria.

paganda is alone recognised. It, and it alone, has full and exclusive rights.

Every manifestation, public or private, capable of inducing others to practise acts of religion will be considered punishable propaganda. By Article 18 the teaching of religion to children, in any place whatever, was already forbidden not only to clergymen but to any believer. Henceforth the parents themselves can be punished as guilty of religious propaganda, if they induce their children to frequent the church or to learn and recite their prayers. In punishment of these "crimes," as we shall see further on, parents can be deprived—I do not say of all authority over their children, for they no longer possess any rights—but even of the presence of their children. Parents who dare to give any religious instruction to their children will be compelled to hand them over to a state institution. Suspect also and liable to imprisonment is every member of the clergy who exhorts his parishioners to frequent the church and the sacraments. In striking contrast with this penal code is the official encouragement given to every form of antireligious propaganda.

The 1918 Constitution deprived priests, monks and nuns of civil rights; they could not be either electors or candidates. The new law similarly incapacitates every one employed about a church—charwomen, vergers, sacristans, *psalemtchiks* (cantors), deacons. And the church itself cannot remain open unless a committee of at least twenty adults renew and present their signatures each year. These unfortunate trustees must ensure, at their own expense, the religious services, the upkeep of the property, and the payment of exorbitant taxes—and all without being able to fix any contribution from the congregation. As they can be registered only in one place of worship, the Soviet police possess as many lists of twenty suspects as there are places of worship in Soviet territory. These suspects, convicted by their

own signatures, are always and ever, like the clergy, liable to arbitrary arrest. If one of them should happen to be missing—through death, change of residence or above all through arrest—he must be replaced immediately. The omission of a signature from the committee register—even for a single day—is penalized by the immediate closing of the church. These trustees, responsible for the upkeep of the buildings, are equally responsible for the preservation of the furniture, of the plate and of every article used in the divine service. All these have been nationalised and carefully entered in an inventory, which must be kept up to date. If a candlestick or a vestment or a liturgical book or even a packet of candles has been received and not immediately entered in the inventory, the donor and the church committee are charged with having committed a theft to the prejudice of the nation. If window-panes broken by school-children—who are often deliberately instigated to do these misdeeds—are not straightway repaired, all the members of the church committee, in their capacity of trustees of national property, are liable to imprisonment—and even to hard labour. If brigands or common burglars rifle a church (in which, by the way, no one is allowed to remain as a guard during the night), the committee of trustees must pay a fine and replace immediately the stolen objects—objects, remember, which they had purchased originally and again repurchased from the State, when the latter wantonly nationalised all church property. And to add insult to injury, the thieves and their accomplices are often members of the local Soviet to which the fine has to be paid.

Already for a long time the publication of religious books, pamphlets and even leaflets has been practically impossible. The Baptists and some other sects with Soviet tendencies were allowed this privilege for a while; but it has been withdrawn. All paper is now reserved for antireligious writings.

Places of worship, by the mere fact that they can be seen, constitute a sort of propaganda which the Bolsheviks are anxious to suppress. The voice of monuments must, therefore, be silenced. Right from the beginning the Soviet Government used every imaginable pretext to justify the closing of churches. During the revolution many wooden churches—the most numerous class—disappeared. After the "peace" all chapels in private houses, in appropriated convents, in hospitals, schools, orphanages, and asylums were prohibited in the name of freedom of conscience. Soon the turn came for the public churches; they were converted sometimes into schools, more often into cinemas, clubs, and especially assembly-halls for atheist associations. But the building still stands and speaks in no uncertain voice—and sometimes with very disconcerting effect. For instance, more than once a workman, nay even a Soviet official or "a professed atheist," on entering one of these church-clubs has been known to forget himself as far as to bless himself devoutly. At least that is what the Soviet journals relate—*e.g.*, the *Rabotchaya* of 13 July 1929. To prevent such unfortunate incidents the militant atheists of the Soviet Union see no more efficacious remedy than the destruction of the churches. According to official statistics 134 churches were closed in 1927, 592 in 1928. The pace was too slow; it has been enormously increased since April 1929.

"It has been decided that all churches and chapels which sell or loan objects of any kind, such as candles, beads, prayers, palls, wreaths, etc., shall be considered as commercial enterprises. The officiating clergy and the church committee must, therefore, pay in advance to the Findivision (Department of Finance) a security of several hundred thousand roubles." If the parishioners, already many times plundered, are unable to pay, the church is closed. Another method to secure the same object is to declare the church to be so damaged as to be

dangerous. This method has the advantage that it brings about the destruction of the church by the faithful themselves and at their expense. When the demolition has advanced so far that the building has no longer the appearance of a church, the local Soviet suddenly discovers that the foundations are really sound, and it orders the adaptation of the building to another purpose. The trick has been played.

However, the zeal of the destroyers sometimes grows weary. The *Izvestia* of 24 August 1929 rebukes these timid or lazy members. Under the title of "Let us intensify the religious Struggle" it writes :—

> Nearly sixty per cent. of the parents living in Moscow have religious rites performed on their new-born children. In certain schools of this same city of Moscow the proportion of children influenced by religion attains to ninety per cent. Therefore, in spite of the immense progress realised in the organization of socialism, we have not yet broken the clerical front. This failure shows that certain of our organizations do not appreciate the fact that the religious idea is one of the principal obstacles to the socialistic transformation of the country, and that religion and socialism are things incompatible .... This passive atheism is particularly intolerable amongst the members of the Communist Party and the Komsomols [Communist Youth], amongst the workers (men and women), and in the ranks of the red army ... An end must be put to the dispersion of our forces on the anti-God front. Toleration of religious obscurantism must not be allowed to continue ... Every Bezbojnik should pass from a passive attitude to active warfare—action, action all along the anti-God front. Militant atheism, not merely in words but in acts, that is what is wanted and expected from all organizations.

The total suppression of religion by the disappearance of all public worship is now the order of the day. To achieve this purpose "the five-year plan," as it is called, has been elaborated. To settle the details and application of this plan a special Congress of militant Bezbojniks assembled in Moscow on 27 October 1929, four months after that of June. The pretext was to celebrate the twelfth anniversary of the Bolshevik victory in October

1917; but the real purpose was to complete the destruction of all churches *within five years*. Several members urged a limit of two years.

On the day the Congress met, the *Bezbojnik* demanded the imposition of formidable taxes on all churches—50 per cent. of the value of the building—and the closing of any church which failed to pay this tax within two months. And on the same day the *Rabotchaya Moskva* (Moscow Labour organ) published an article of seven columns which called all workers to "the far-flung anti-God front" (that is the title of the article). "It is time to have finished with religion. The Soviet plan to reconstruct the whole country in five years is impeded by only one obstacle, religion. The clergy and their followers are, in fact, working against the revolution. All their centres of organization must, therefore, be closed." The author then proceeds to enumerate every possible centre—Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Mohammedan. Whatever is in any sense religious must cease to exist. It is a loud and fanatical echo of *Christianos esse non licet*.

II

The perversion of children has reached an incredible shamelessness. So revolting and diabolical are some of the details that they cannot be told here. A little before Easter, in several of the schools of Moscow and according to a programme which had evidently been officially communicated, many of the teachers gave explanations of the feast which were not only most impious, but also most obscene. On the feast itself children were ordered to assemble at a fixed hour. All knew beforehand that absentees and their parents would suffer severe penalties—which, as a matter of fact, were inflicted—*e.g.*, privation of ration cards, imprisonment of father or mother, sometimes of both, and sometimes of an elder sister. The purpose of the gathering was to stage masquerades. In

many places, and even in Moscow, where the presence of the Foreign Embassies generally imposes more of reserve, the masquerades took the form of a gross travesty of religion. There were processions of children, boys and girls, transformed to represent geese, asses, and especially pigs, but all wearing church vestments and monastic habits, and all trained by their teachers to perform acts of obscene mimicry.

The second Congress of Militant Atheists, in June 1929, passed a resolution to lower to fourteen the age at which young Komsomols and other children could become members of the League of Militant Atheists. The *Antireligiosnik* (July 1929, No. 7) commented on this resolution as follows :—

> This decision was not taken without difficulties. Even among the Militant Atheists of the Congress a third were against the incorporation of children below the age of sixteen, for fear of the opposition and scandals which parents, especially in the villages, would not fail to stir up. Their reasons, however, were brushed aside by the argument that scandal would equally arise if the age were fixed at sixteen years. Scandal or no scandal, it is better, in order to strengthen our ranks, to admit children at the age of fourteen years. We must enroll even younger children and develop thus the *Group of Young Atheists* from the tenderest years.

The *Izvestia* devoted the whole number of Sunday 18 August 1929 to "atheist pioneers." One of the writers, M. Epstein, expressed himself thus : "Our schools form twelve million children ; it is the duty of the pioneer to make atheism penetrate into this mass. It is through him that the Communist vanguard of the children will realise true Communism. A grand oecumenical Congress of Communist children and of their atheist pioneers will then be of capital importance for the world. During the school year 1929-1930 the future leaders of Communist atheism throughout the world ought to be chosen from among the pioneers and other children and be then methodically trained for their great work." In the same issue of this newspaper a caricature, entitled

"The Child and its Nurses" (in capitalist countries), represents a Latin bishop with mitre, carrying in his left hand a Slav Book of the Gospels and holding with his right hand a diminutive Boy Scout, Ramsay MacDonald, to whom an English naval officer presents a small cruiser, which a capitalist, winged like an angel and floating over the group, blesses with his golden mouth (Chrysostom). The text enumerates the plagues engendered by religion: militarism, capitalism, hostility to the Russian people, boycotts, famine. Religion is the worship of evil—that is the idea which must be implanted in the minds of the young.

To corrupt the school-children, to enroll them in the ranks of the militant Bezbojniks—these are fine victories, but not yet sufficient. At a general conference of the orphanages of Leningrad a director declared that to wait until the school age before weaning children from religion is to wait too long. They must be taken at the tenderest age and initiated immediately into irreligion. Unfortunately they are poisoned only too often by the religious atmosphere of the family. "To the assault, therefore, of these religious citadels: let us snatch the children, well before the age of seven, from this putrid atmosphere .... Let us at least intensify more and more the antireligious propaganda in the orphanages for foundlings, because here there is no danger of opposition from the parents." The *Vetchernaya Moskva* of 17 October 1929 announced that the Narkompros (Commissariat for Education) would take from their parents children who were prevented from attending the antireligious schools—even on feast days. These parents will, in addition, have to pay a monthly fine in compensation for the expenses incurred in maintaining their children.

III

Strange phenomenon: although the Catholics in Russia are only a small minority, it is against them that the Bolshevik persecution rages most fiercely. Almost

fifty per cent. of their priests have been imprisoned, which means that they have suffered a much bigger proportion of losses than any other religious denomination. The majority of the prisoners, clerical and lay, are deported to the camp of Solovetsky Monastyr or to some distant part of Siberia, Turkestan or the Caucasus, where the conditions are such that death soon comes as a merciful relief. The following are the names of Catholic priests who, according to information published in Soviet newspapers, agonize in the terrible camp of Solovki, to the north-west of Archangel: Paul Chomicz, 36 years; Vincent Dejnis, 49 years; Adolphus Filip, 44 years; Vincent Ilgin, Apostolic Administrator of Kharkov, 43 years; Joseph Iuzwik, 56 years; Casimir Siwicki, 45 years; Miécislas Szawdinis, 34 years; Canon John Troige, Secretary of the archdiocese of Mohilev, 49 years; John Versocki, 41 years; Tysowski and Woronko, Students of Theology. All these belong to the archdiocese of Mohilev. The Soviet newspapers gave the names also of some seven or eight priests deported from other dioceses; but we must not conclude that the foregoing names and figures constitute the total of priests imprisoned in the camp of Solovki. There are certainly many others whose names have not been officially announced—for instance, Father Chtchépanicuk, Parish Priest of the Oriental Rite in Kiev. Also, we must remember that Solovki is only one of several detention camps or places of exile. We know that Mgr. Theophilus Skalski, Apostolic Administrator of Kiev, has been languishing in one of them for nearly four years, whilst the agony of Father John Deubner has now endured for more than eight years.

As a rule the Bezbojniks avoid killing directly their victims; they prefer the prolonged agony of imprisonment under conditions worse than death. The names of priests who have recently died under these conditions could be given; but it is unnecessary. Enough has been said to show that the Catholic Church comes in for

its share of Bolshevik hatred. The *Antireligiosnik* of September 1929 (p. 102) announced that "forty-two Preparatory Courses would be opened during the winter of 1929-1930 for the express purpose of preparing propagandists to work among Catholics." Humanly speaking, the perversion of the great Russian people would seem to be beyond natural remedy. That is why the Holy Father insists above all on the duty of praying for these unhappy victims. His appeals to the saints have caused great irritation to the Soviet authorities. The *Bezbojnik* of 8 September 1929 announced the beatification of Dom Bosco in the following words: "To increase its influence over youth [this heading was in heavy type] the Roman Catholic Church has invented yet another 'saint.' His name is 'Dom Bosco, Apostle of Youth.' Bosco was an obscure priest of no account who lived in the last century." Well, the sons of this obscure priest did noble work in the Pontifical Commission for the relief of the starving children of Russia.

These details, which could be easily multiplied, and above all the general situation in Russia to-day explain why the Holy See, after having indulgenced in March 1929, for the use of the Carmelite Nuns, a long prayer to S. Teresa of the Child Jesus, published another and shorter form in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* of 4 Nov. 1929. As a conclusion I beg the reader's permission to quote this prayer :—

Sainte aimable et compatissante, daignez soulager nos frères russes, victimes d'une longue et cruelle persécution antichrétienne : obtenez leur la persévérance dans la Foi, le progrès dans l'amour de Dieu et du prochain et dans la confiance envers la Très Sainte Mère de Dieu ; préparez leur des saints prêtres, réparateurs des sacrilèges commis contre la Sainte Eucharistie et des blasphèmes ; faites leur refleurir, surtout dans la jeunesse, la pureté angélique et les vertus chrétiennes, afin que ce noble peuple, libéré de toutes les servitudes et revenu spontanément à l'unique bercail que le Coeur aimant du Christ ressuscité confia à Saint Pierre et à ses successeurs, goûte enfin la joie de glorifier dans la communion de la Sainte Eglise Catholique le Père et le Fils et le Saint Esprit.

Amen.

THE EPIC OF THE BUSH NUNS

BY GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J., M.A.

I HAVE caught the title of this paper from a phrase of Father Martindale's occurring in an article contributed by him to the September number of the *Month* and entitled "The Astonishing Father Woods." He was speaking of the most memorable and enduring monument left behind him by that remarkable man—a monument, however, that must bear alongside of his name that of a gifted and saintly woman, Mary M'Killop. What they combined to achieve for Australia was the creation of an institute of teachers and workers for the poor—the institute of the Sisters of St. Joseph; and the history of those Sisters—of their rise, their sufferings and their doings—is qualified by Fr. Martindale as "epic." Having studied the history, I do not find the adjective surprising.[1]

How many things have had to be rapidly pioneered—to be brought into existence and brought up to modern requirements within a few decades—in this continent of Australia! How much is still in rapid evolution in a region the most ancient (as they say) geologically, but the youngest sociologically, of all regions of the earth! This is brought home by the most superficial study of Australian matters. Nor has it been a story of quiet and uniform advance, but rather "epic" enough—after the manner of the *Iliad*. Straightforward cultural development was crossed by tumultuous episodes of gold-finding and the like—such episodes as made the names of

[1] The full story of the "epic" is to be gathered (1) in its most general outlines from Cardinal Moran's monumental *History of the Catholic Church in Australia;* (2) in particular from the *Life of the Rev. J. E. Tenison Woods* by the present writer (Sydney: Pellegrini. 1929. 22/6); and (3) from the *Life of Mother Mary of the Cross* by the same writer, to be published shortly by the same publishers.

Ballarat, Bendigo, Walhalla, Kalgoorlie, and Coolgardie at one time or another resound across the world and have left them still weighted with strange memories. These things helped in their own way to make Australia. But, behind the clatter of the diggers and the fortune-hunters, behind the clearing of forests and the running-up of big cities, there went on quieter developments and the growth of things far more momentous. There was, for example, the working out of the problem of Catholic education.

What was to become of the children of all these immigrants? Even supposing a fair proportion of the multi-national parents to be Catholics and anxious to bring up the little ones as Catholics, what could they do for them? Those parents, numbering at a given period (say) one hundred thousand, were scattered over an area of nearly three million square miles; and an educational system supposes concentration and combination. From remote bush, from small mining-town, from expanding city, arose the cry for an education that would make the growing-up Australians good citizens in this world and promising candidates for the next; but there was no one to meet the need. The "mixed" or secularist school was fairly well endowed and was throwing its doors wide open; governments were gradually hardening into a secularist educational policy. One or two of the secularist leaders declared openly that their hope and aim was the extinction of the influence of the Catholic Church. So much was not needed to remind Catholics that secularists they could not be. But what could they do? School-houses might be contrived, but then where were the teachers to be found? A whole army of men and women would have to be raised—competent and willing to carry on the ministry of Catholic teaching and training in the wilds or in the slums, ready to teach the poorest, ready to be themselves extremely poor. Extremely poor they must be, for the Catholics, few in number, taxed for the secularist schools as well as for their own, could very

ill afford to pay for their educational needs across a whole continent.

The problem had to wait for solution till 1866, and then its solution began, as Christianity had begun, in a stable. It was not solved by cleverness, nor by money, nor by political agitation. Attempts to employ all these means had failed. The secret was found in simple self-denial and self-devotion, in the unselfish dedication of virginal lives to God and to His little ones. It was found by two great hearts and souls—those of Julian Tenison Woods and of Mary M'Killop—" Mary of the Cross."[1]

They met for the first time at Portland in Western Victoria in the year 1862. Julian Woods was then thirty years of age and Mary M'Killop but twenty. He had already passed through singularly varied experiences. His character, derived from Anglo-Irish ancestry, had been moulded by an Anglican mother and a vaguely-Catholic father, by a variety of schools, by work in the office of *The Times*, by the Oxford convert Canon Oakeley, by Father F. W. Faber, by the Marist Society—but especially by the Blessed Julien Eymard, at the time a Marist, by Ignatius Spencer and Charles Pakenham, both remarkable for aristocratic birth and connexions as well as for character and holiness, and then by the Congregation to which they belonged, that of the Passionists, which he himself joined, but which, incapacitated by ill-health, he left after a year or two. Then he allowed himself to be carried off to the Antipodes by Dr. Willson, the reforming bishop of Tasmania; but, after a few months spent among convict prisoners, he is found in

[1] We are, of course, simplifying and keeping to central figures and incidents. Justice requires us to recall that certain beginnings had been made before 1866; that Christian devotedness, notably that of one or two religious bodies such as the Irish Sisters of Mercy, had not been lacking to the earlier decades of the Church in Australia. Nor do we refer in this paper to the fine work done by various congregations of men for the education of boys past the infant-school stage. We are only concerned to show how the education problem, in the form most peculiar to Australia, was not solved until the advent of the Sisters of St. Joseph.

Australian cities, trying journalism again and on the verge of matrimony. But once more a zealous bishop awakens his religious zeal. He is sent to a Jesuit house for a few months to study theology, he is ordained priest and presently given charge of a parish as big as Munster.

Mary M'Killop, born at Melbourne of Highland-Scotch parents, had during her brief career gone through no such picturesque variety of experiences. But she had early felt herself called to the twofold life of teaching and of religious consecration. She had as a child and as a very youthful governess developed remarkable characteristics both natural and supernatural. In some notes written in her later life she thus speaks of herself, addressing the Blessed Virgin Mother in heaven :—

> My Mother, you know what you told me when I first knelt to ask you to offer me to your Son .... You told me that I was to be a consecrated spouse of your Son, that I had a great work to do ; but you did not tell me in what way.

The revelation of the way was found when she talked with Julian Woods on the needs of his scattered flock. He had long meditated on those needs ; he knew what was urgent ; he had long prayed for the sending of the destined helpers. Now he found Mary M'Killop. She was teaching in a State school and in other ways helping to maintain an ill-fortuned father and mother and six younger brothers and sisters. Nevertheless he set himself to form her soul for the new apostolate, and presently gave the decided call : "Come, follow me"! She obeyed. They were at one in their conception of a great end to be achieved and of the means of achieving it. The earliest Franciscan ideals—nothing less—were henceforth to be applied to the work of a teaching and charitable institute of women. A flame like to that of the Saint of Assisi burned in the hearts of both. Only—and by degrees the difference showed itself increasingly—in his soul emotion and aspiration were insufficiently controlled by prudence, while an exquisite discretion was never

lacking to the zeal, strength and self-devotion of hers. The two may in many ways recall St. Francis and St. Clare ; but Father Julian lacked St. Francis's capacity for taking advice.

Both being attractive personalties, they rapidly gathered about them an increasing band of followers. The Franciscan bishop of Adelaide and by degrees other churchmen accepted eagerly their help, and soon the crusade of " Father Woods's nuns," as they were at first called, went forth conquering. But it moved always under the standard and shadow of the Cross. The nuns were vowed to utter poverty and to the help of the poorest, and they not seldom found themselves short of the bare necessities of life, while they confronted the poverty of others in its ugliest aspects. They were at the service of the remotest, and so—not to speak of the trial of solitude—the hardest poverty of all had to be faced, the lack of spiritual helps and comforts. Their unwillingness to make demands of any sort upon priests or people, their readiness to take the lowest place and be content with the poorest conditions in food, clothing and lodging, their eagerness to help in every need and urgency, but above all their zeal as teachers—these characteristics enabled the Sisters of St. Joseph to solve with rapidly-growing success the main problems of Australasia's young Catholic life.

What their experiences were in plain, everyday reality is best to be judged from letters and documents such as those of which we will now offer some brief scraps. Here is a passage from the reminiscences of a veteran :—

> Sometimes we had to go out and beg for bread before we could have any breakfast. The Sisters during school-time had sometimes to hold on to a desk or seat in order to avoid fainting or falling through the weakness brought on by insufficient food. Our bill of fare consisted chiefly of bread—sometimes stale crusts —with a very little dripping or black treacle, with tea—black or with a colouring of milk. This for breakfast and supper ; for dinner small portions of rice and stale bread, and sometimes

one chop was divided between two Sisters . . . . . But the convent was a paradise and I never minded the poverty.

From a letter of news to head-quarters :—

We are doing well here ; our recreations are pleasant ; but we have all [three] been rather unwell. I think this is owing to the roof of the school-room being of iron unlined.

That roof, under which the three Sisters taught, was exposed to a tropical sun that raised the daily shade-temperature to 100 degrees and higher still. At other places and times wintry cold was the difficulty :—

The old sacristy is where we live, and as it is only made of boards it is hard to keep out the cold. Yesterday five feet of snow were piled up against one side . . . . .

In one important centre an attempt was made to starve the Sisters (so to speak) into an acceptance of Government grants. They were informed that they might not accept any fees from their pupils and that they had no permission to beg. How they fared while endeavouring to live under these conditions we do not know ; but fortunately the people after some time got to understand how matters stood, and took definite steps to secure their teachers from want.

In a certain rural centre, the neighbouring farmers, having been cutting off the tails of their lambs, presented a sackful of tails to the convent. The sackful was most gratefully received ; but the conclusion of the story was not so festive as might have been hoped. For the Sister whose turn it was to cook, " instead of making a nice tasty fry," as she ought to have done, boiled the precious gift and served up a mess that was decidedly depressing.

But (as we have said) material privations were not what was hardest to bear. Loneliness in a vast wilderness among scattered families dwelling miles apart—such loneliness long continued was sometimes a severe test for the nerves of women even of strong fibre. The spiritual destitution inevitable in such situations was a heavier

trial. Daily Mass and Communion were not to be thought of, and on many a Sunday morning the pastor would be officiating at thirty or forty miles distance. There would be worse experiences still. Mother Mary wrote to a bishop representing a case in which a little community of her daughters had been left without Mass or Holy Communion or any visit of a priest for nearly five months. Quite exceptional, no doubt; still that was the kind of privation that they were all prepared to endure and that no other congregation of women had hitherto resigned themselves to endure.

Meek, however, as were the Sisters, they made always two conditions before they took their way to some new mission. One was that their schools were to be absolutely Catholic, and therefore free from any dependence for support on secular governments, free from any interference on the part of secular boards and bureaux. On this point there was never any divergence of opinion between the two founders. In 1868 Mother Mary wrote :—

> We never, never can be connected with any secular board of education. Even granted that the free use of our religious principles might be allowed, we must be left free to appoint our own teachers and adhere strictly to our own system . . . . . Should we even have to be scattered and sent as wanderers, without the protection of the religious habit, should our poor schools be taken from us, should our institute even be suppressed, our courage, our calm trust in the Sacred Heart would only grow stronger; for we would know that when the storm had passed away St. Joseph would again assemble his children to work once more.
>
> Even were we at last told that we were not wanted, that we were a hindrance and a disgrace to religion, we would humbly adore the hand of God in it all, and be, oh, so happy in heart with Him. We might, were we still permitted to wear the habit, entreat the forbearance of the priests. We might ask them to let us pick up the ragged and till then unfound among the poor children of the Sacred Heart. We might seek permission to find out the sick and wait on them, and pursue so many of the secondary objects of our institute . . . . .

Inspired by such ideals of Catholic education, the

Sisters brought with them yet another condition, when they went to the help of distant colonies and dioceses. It was that their unity should be respected. Scattered, widely separated, exposed to improbable vicissitudes as they were, they found strength, confidence and consolation in the links that bound them to the Father Director and the Mother Superior. These must interpret for them their rule, solve their difficulties, take up when needful their defence, be a permanent centre of direction and rock of refuge.

What grief, then, for these faithful women when, five or six years after their foundation, their unity came to be threatened in various ways and in various quarters! Inaugurating their work in 1866 under the smiles of a worthy but too impulsive prelate, the two founders saw themselves at the opening of 1871 the objects of his extreme displeasure. Father Woods had raised up many enemies. He had encouraged certain pseudo-mystics whose doings caused much talk and scandal. Then, while he was absent in another colony, the Bishop suddenly attempted a complete revolution in the Institute of St. Joseph. The nuns, rather than acquiesce in his designs, preferred to be released from their vows; Mary endeavoured to stand to their defence. They were dispersed, and she was excommunicated. Yet this storm was almost as short-lived as it was violent. More lasting and therefore more regrettable were the discords that separated ever more and more completely the co-founders themselves. These grew intense when in 1873 Mother Mary undertook alone a journey to Rome and brought back from Propaganda a Rule differing in some important respects from that originally drawn up by Father Woods. At the same time the two prelates to whose dioceses the Sisters of St. Joseph had been invited as to their first outlying fields of labour, began a campaign for cutting off the Sisters who laboured in their schools from their Mother House and reducing them to purely diocesan government.

With singular prudence and strength, with support from Rome, but none from Father Woods, Mother Mary maintained for many years a contest in defence of her Institute; it brought her a final victory—but a victory with the loss of a few of her daughters, who became the nucleus of diocesan groups.

During the eighties that followed, Father Julian, forbidden by Rome to direct the Institute, varied the activities of a roving missioner with those of a scientist, explorer and author, till his last illness supervened in 1887 and his death in 1889. During the same period the Mother Foundress confronted a series of unexpected and exhausting troubles. The new Bishop of Adelaide, who, as a simple priest, had in the days of her excommunication been among her best friends, now, stimulated by evil tongues, entered upon a violent campaign against her and her Institute. It ended—as far as we are concerned—with her deposition and exile. Yet, at the darkest hour, hope glimmered from another quarter of the horizon. Archbishop Vaughan and after him Cardinal Moran opened up Sydney as a refuge; it was gratefully accepted by the harassed Mother and Institute, and since then to this day Sydney holds the Mother-House.

Leaving unwritten the story of the extension of the Sisters of St. Joseph to New Zealand and other regions of Australasia, we will end at this point our hasty sketch. The reader perhaps will fail to see in it the elements of an epic; but unquestionably the full story is one of fine ideals, of their translation by self-sacrifice into great Christian works, of painful contentions dignified by the virtues and good intentions of all the parties involved, of conclusions momentous for the cause of the Church. Nor will elements of unusual greatness, holiness and engaging humanity be found wanting in the two chief personages of the action. They both loved much and suffered much. "Mary of the Cross" deserved well her high title, and Julian Woods was no faint-hearted follower of the "Man of Sorrows."

G. O'NEILL.

WHY DO GERMANS STUDY CELTIC PHILOLOGY?

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"ALL roads lead to Rome," but all roads obviously do not lead to Celtic philology, and the question has often been asked why Germans in such numbers have occupied themselves and are occupying themselves with that branch of linguistic science. A general answer to this question is attempted in the following pages.

In the first place it is to be noted that the arrangement of studies at the German Universities leaves the student exposed to allurements. Once a youth has finished his secondary course and secured his *Reifezeugnis*, he can enter without more ado any University he pleases, and has no examination to pass until the end of his studies. These occupy at least three years; usually, however, four or five years. Thus the student has time and leisure to apply himself to subjects that have no direct bearing on his final examination. He is not only permitted, but encouraged, in his first semesters, to devote his attention to different branches of knowledge, that his outlook on life may become mature and broad. Celtic Philology has a place among the subjects for the PH.D. Degree, provided the University where the degree is sought has a professor capable of setting the examination. The subject may also, of course, be taken up for its own sake, without any practical object in view, and may so impress the fancy that the student returns to it in the leisure moments of after life.

Among the avenues of approach to Celtic studies I would distinguish three, which may be termed the geographical-ethnological, the linguistic and the literary.

The first avenue begins with the Celts who lived on the Continent and spoke Celtic dialects, until the Germans from the North and the Romans from the South reduced them to subjection and imposed upon them their own languages. It must not be forgotten that a large part of southern and western Germany and of the adjoining German-speaking lands—Alsace, Switzerland and Austria—was formerly Celtic territory, and that the memory of this period is still preserved in many place-names. The effort to explain the original meaning of these (a form of research undertaken by many "local investigators") is a natural avenue by which Germans may arrive at the study of the Celtic languages.

That this avenue of approach is narrow hardly needs to be said. The study of place-names is dry, and of interest mostly to those who live in a particular district. The results, as a rule, are likewise far from striking. We learn, perhaps, that the original name of a certain river was "river" or "water," or "the limpid," or "the red"; or that a locality was called after its owner in Gaulish or in Roman times. All this is jejune enough. The Celts themselves, in lands like Ireland and Wales, where they retained their language and understood the meaning of the place-names, sought to make their study more exciting. Ath buide, "the yellow ford," for example, was not so named because the water flowing by was yellow, but because a warrior named Buide was slain at the ford by the famous hero Cuchulainn. A hill Druim-tairb, "the bull's ridge," takes its name not from its similarity to a bull's back, but because the famous *Donn Cuailnge* died there. And so on. Mediaeval, and even modern tales and poems are full of would-be explanatory incidents that give colour and interest to the driest place-names.

It is thus not surprising to find that the scientific study of such names in Germany led few to a deeper knowledge of Celtic philology. In most cases the investi-

gator's purpose was served once he had discovered in a dictionary the meaning of the word he sought. An exception, perhaps, is Dr. Max Förster, the well-known Anglicist, now professing in Munich, who gives lectures also on the Celtic languages. Many of his essays deal with place-names in England, and I take it that his approach to Celtic studies was along this route. We may note, however, that Alfred Holder, the Karlsruhe librarian, who strove to gather every Celtic name or word (known to have existed before the 6th or 7th century of our era) into his valuable work *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, never came to understand any of the Celtic languages thoroughly. Yet he sacrificed all his holidays, up to his death during the War years, excerpting Celtic words from manuscripts.

Much more fruitful in results has been the approach from the linguistic side. At the beginning of the last century, as is well known, the knowledge of Sanscrit, an Archaic Indian tongue, spread to Europe, and revealed the affinity between most European and many Asiatic languages—the group which we in Germany call Indo-Germanic, the French Indo-European, the English and the anthropologists generally Aryan. Since the discovery of the Tocharic language in Eastern Turkestan we might speak of the same group as the Tocharo-Celtic languages, denoting thereby the complete extension from East to West within Asia and Europe. It was a German, Franz Bopp, who pointed out the safest way to prove this relationship. Whole words must not be compared with one another, for words consist of very few sounds, so that words of similar sound and similar meaning are found in almost every language. Much more secure is a comparison of the formative elements, the endings and general system of inflexion found in the conjugations and declensions. Bopp, at the beginning, paid no attention to the Celtic languages, and the Welshman, Prichard, followed by the French-Swiss, Pictet, were the first to show that the Celtic dialects belonged to the Indo-

Germanic or Aryan type. Both were puzzled by the initial mutations, found equally in the Gaelic and in the Brittonic dialects, and thought them a foreign element, due perhaps to admixture with some non-Indo-Germanic tongue. Bopp was here able to make reparation for his former neglect. In a paper published just ninety years ago he showed that initial mutations were caused by the original endings of the preceding words, and that these endings are preserved in the more Archaic Indo-Germanic languages.

Bopp himself did not go further in his study of Celtic, but the way had been thrown open, and soon Celtic (especially Old-Irish, a most Archaic language) had an important place in comparative philology. Often there were joint professorships for Celtic and Sanscrit, or men (like Ernst Windisch and Heinrich Zimmer, to name the best-known scholars) who were working chiefly at these two subjects. Why, it may be asked, were the two extreme representatives of the Indo-Germanic family, Celtic and Sanscrit, thus united in the one chair ? The reason was purely accidental : there existed already chairs for the classical languages, others for German and Romance philology, so that the more neglected fields, like Celtic and Sanscrit, called for particular attention.

Bopp's first successor of genius, Johann Kaspar Zeuss, came not so much from the linguistic as from the ethnological side. He was a native of Bavarian Franconia. Now the name of the Bavarians, *Baivari*, seems to contain the name of the *Boii*, a Celtic people after whom Bohemia (Boiohaemum) is called, but who had emigrated from that country before Caesar's time. Discussions on the origin of the Bavarians led Zeuss to the composition of his first masterly work, *The Germans and their Neighbours*, which even still is the fundamental work on all questions dealing with these peoples in the Roman period. In the course of his investigations Zeuss examined the most ancient documents (printed or still hidden away in

MSS.) of the insular Celts, that he might compare them with documents or monuments relating to the Continental Celts. Everyone who has heard of Celtic Studies knows the resulting work, *Grammatica Celtica*, finished, when his health was already failing, in 1853. The knowledge of Old Irish displayed in this book is good, but Zeuss had at his disposal one of the best surviving documents in that language, the glosses on the Epistles of St. Paul in an 8th century MS. at Würzburg. His model for the book was not so much Bopp's comparative grammar as another fundamental philological work, *Die Deutsche Grammatik* of Jakob Grimm. This scholar had treated comparatively all the Germanic languages, including Norse, English and Dutch, and had been followed already by Diez in his comparative grammar of the Romance languages.

The fame of Zeuss has almost eclipsed that of Hermann Ebel, professor for a time in the Gymnasium of Scheidemühl in West-Prussia, finally professor of comparative philology in Berlin. He re-edited the *Grammatica Celtica* of Zeuss, and so improved the book that in many parts it is a new work, though he modestly retained as much of the original as he could. His humility should not make us blind to his deserts or less grateful for his conscientious and able services.

I need not speak of the later comparative grammar of Holger Pedersen. Though it is written by a pupil of Zimmer and in German, its author is a Dane. It is not a new edition of the *Grammatica Celtica*, but quite another work, based on the author's own research. Unlike the collections of Zeuss, the aim of the book is not to illustrate Celtic remains in Gaul.

More closely connected with Zeuss was Glück, who endeavoured to explain the Gaulish names in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*. His work had the happy result of bringing the futile dispute between German scholars on the relationship or lack of relationship between the Gauls and the insular Celts to a speedy end.

Some time later a discussion arose between Ebel and Zollner as to whether Celtic was more closely akin to German than to the old dialects of Italy, the best-known of which is Latin. The question has now, I believe, been settled in favour of the second view. In the present century Aloys Walde has even tried to prove that the Gaels are more closely related to the Latins than to the other Italian races; without, however, carrying conviction to many. Interest in the Celtic languages is certainly still keen among comparative philologists, though I wonder why so few specialists in the domain of the early Italic dialects content themselves with a superficial knowledge of Celtic. Outside the sphere of comparative philology, too, Celtic studies are beginning to make conquests. Anglicists, for instance, no longer regard them with indifference. These beginnings, it is devoutly to be hoped, will have a prosperous future. For long there was but one chair exclusively for Celtic philology in Germany, that of Berlin, founded for Zimmer—filled afterwards by Kuno Meyer and now held by Pokorny. Another has recently been added at the University of Hamburg, where the librarian, Dr. Mülhausen, lectures on Celtic subjects. The position being thus, there is always imminent danger that Celtic studies in Germany may lose ground.

I would not venture to say that Pokorny's approach to Celtic was along the ethnological avenue; but recent publications show that now, at least, ethnological questions are uppermost in his thoughts. Not the place of the Celts in the Aryan group, but the origin of the Celtic nations is the subject of debate. He proposes to show that the language of the insular Celts, especially of the Gaels, indicates clearly the influence of a language related to the Hamitic tongues of Northern Africa. It seems to me that if Gaelic suffered admixture to the degree supposed by Pokorny, it could not have such a complicated form-system as we find in Old-Irish; for mixed languages are

generally simple in their grammatical structure. Welcome in his effort at proof is the collection he has made of Irish syntactical peculiarities that seem to him to be out of harmony with the Indo-Germanic type. Just as modern zoology developed from mediaeval descriptions of fantastical animals, so, it is to be hoped, his collections will lead to the investigation of Irish syntax during all periods of the language. This must still be classed among the *desiderata* of Celtic philology.

About the time when the second edition of the *Grammatica Celtica* in 1871 gave to Celtic studies a new and solid foundation, the third avenue of approach, the literary, began to acquire importance in Germany. Two questions then agitated the whole scientific world, German scholars included, the first being the authenticity or spuriousness of Macpherson's *Ossian* and the second the sources of the Arthurian romances and the story of Percival and the Holy Grail. *Ossian* had been known in translation to German readers since the days of Goethe, whilst translations and adaptations of French poems about King Arthur and Percival had a prominent place in German mediaeval literature. The period mentioned saw a very happy union of the two avenues, the linguistic and the literary. Chiefly responsible for this are Ernst Windisch and Heinrich Zimmer, soon to be joined by the former's pupil, Kuno Meyer. Both Windisch and Zimmer had made comparative philology their starting-point. But the former tells us clearly that it was a summons from his professor of Sanscrit, Brockhaus, to solve the Ossianic problem that first induced him to take up the study of Gaelic literature. Supported by Whitley Stokes and by Standish Hayes O'Grady he was able in the first volume of his *Irische Texte* to choose some of the finest Old-Irish sagas for publication. Zimmer, while occupied with Indian studies, had shown that his interest extended beyond the language to the life and social institutions of the people. In his later studies the literary forms

and the social life of the Celts were never lost to view. This was the only point of similarity between the two scholars; in all other respects, in character and manners, the two were poles apart. Zimmer, I believe, for a short time was a pupil of Windisch, but he soon developed into the latter's most aggressive opponent.

Windisch, a gentle and kindly Saxon, advanced slowly and self-consciously, studying with infinite patience every word of the many Irish texts which he translated and published. He looked with suspicion on "final" solutions of difficult literary problems, and he avoided polemics whenever a means of escape was possible. Zimmer was the very reverse. He belonged to that class of mortals whose creative powers are awakened only by opposition. He could not do justice to his great capabilities until he had somebody or something to crush. He never published a text, though he gave at times translations and analyses. But he grasped the many literary problems with great clarity, and his solutions in all cases were sharp, decided and brilliant, full of rich ideas, fascinating to the non-expert and a valuable stimulus to those who realised their defects. Windisch at one time was so wearied by Zimmer's attacks that he was on the point of abandoning Celtic studies altogether. His courage in other respects was abundant, as is shown by the virile manner in which he confronted difficult textual problems.

Both Windisch and Zimmer had many pupils. To the German custom of moving round from University to University I owe the great blessing of having sat, in my student days, at the feet of both. I learned more, perhaps, from Windisch than from Zimmer, but I certainly got more stimulus from the latter. Even in the secondary school I had noticed that biased—even partial and unjust—teachers are often more effective than those of equable temperament, because they bring, as a rule, more personality to their work. Shakespeare's characters

are more impressive than the more balanced characters of Racine.

Kuno Meyer, who was soon to follow in the footsteps of Windisch, had a line of approach peculiarly his own. As a schoolboy he had spent a year, on two occasions, in Scotland, and though he never learned Scotch Gaelic—he confessed to me once that during a Scotch sermon heard when he was already a distinguished scholar the only word he understood was *agus, agus!*—his interest in things Celtic was awakened. When studying German philology in Leipzig he availed eagerly of the opportunity to hear Windisch's lectures. The splendid results need not be told to Irish readers. Ireland was to him a second home, where he soon became honoured and beloved. His artistic sense enabled him to feel vividly the charms of Irish prose and verse and to choose the most interesting texts for his numberless publications. As a means to understand the texts he had to make linguistic studies and thus advanced considerably our knowledge of the Celtic languages in their mediaeval forms.

From the literary side, too, came Stern, librarian in Berlin, once he had given up the study of Egyptology. The Irish saga of Finn, known otherwise as the Ossianic Cycle, found in him a skilful investigator. His studies extended also to other branches of Irish and Welsh poetry.

It may well be asked why librarians (I have named already Holder, Mülhausen, Stern) rather than representatives of other professions, came to take an affectionate interest in Celtic studies? The library is not, I think, the cause, though it may have influenced Holder, whose library contained some valuable manuscripts from the old Irish monastery of Reichenau. Perhaps it is because they can make free use of their leisure hours, unlike professors, who are usually obsessed by thoughts of the morrow's lectures.

For one of the youngest German workers, Leo Weis-

gerber, now Professor in the Mecklenburg University of Rostock, the way of approach was the double avenue of comparative philology and literature. As a student of the former subject his attention became fixed on the form taken by the Arthurian romances in Wales. In his study of the manuscripts in which these romances are contained he detected and proved that the accepted view of their relationship to one another was faulty, and was thus able to correct various errors. I hope and trust that he will not abandon Celtic studies, as several others of my pupils have done after having given proof of high capacity for work of the kind.

As a final example of approach to these studies I may be permitted to say a few words about myself. I was born in Basel, in the north-west corner of Switzerland, where dwelt in ancient times the small Celtic tribe known as *Rauraci* or *Raurici*. In the first century B.C., this tribe, with the Helvetii, endeavoured to obtain a more peaceful dwelling-place in the south of France, but was compelled by Caesar to return. Some miles away are the ruins of the Roman town Augusta Rauracorum, founded by the Roman general Munatius Plancus after Caesar's death, and destroyed in time by the Alamanni, whose language I speak. Later for a quarter of a century I lived at Freiburg in Baden, a town of the 12th century, but quite near Zarten, the old *Tarodunum*, one of the few Celtic towns known to have existed in Roman times on the right bank of the Rhine. Its walls, enclosing an astonishing area, can still be traced. Now in the evening of my days I have my home at Bonn, an old Celtic settlement on the left bank of the Rhine, and surrounded by many places that bear Celtic names. But my interest in things Celtic had not its origin in geography. How unattractive, on the whole, the geographical way proves to be is clear from France, once in large part a Celtic territory. There the knowledge of Celtic philology rests on very slender pillars indeed, the lectures in Celtic subjects

being followed mostly by foreign, not by French, students. I except, of course, Brittany, where one of the Celtic languages is still spoken.

My own line of approach to Celtic was largely accidental, and along the linguistic avenue. When still a schoolboy I heard (from whom I cannot now recollect) that the French language, familiar to every Swiss from childhood, was a mixture of Latin and Gaulish. When later I made up my mind to study philology I had this problem of the origin of French before my eyes. I studied on the one hand Romance philology, on the other hand Latin, comparative philology, and so on. In Leipzig and Berlin under Windisch and Zimmer, and in Paris under the guidance of Gaidoz, I applied myself to the study of the Celtic languages. As a Privatdozent at Jena I was allowed to lecture on Romance and Celtic philology. In 1887 I came to the University of Freiburg as Professor of Comparative Philology. My lectures, as a rule, were on Old Greek, Latin, and general linguistics, with occasional excursions into Celtic subjects when I found the necessary pupils. After twenty years of such activity I thought it might be useful to commit to a handbook all I knew about Old Irish grammar, the knowledge of which had advanced greatly since the second edition of the *Grammatica Celtica* and the appearance of Windisch's small grammar. Whenever I read in some panegyric that I have devoted my whole life to Celtic studies I cannot but smile. From my fiftieth year onwards I published somewhat more on Celtic subjects than on others; much more recently I concentrated entirely on the former, following the literary path.

The manner, in fact, in which the Irish tales of old and modern times had often been treated did not satisfy my mind. It is frequently assumed that modern folklore (in which Ireland is so excessively rich) preserves old tradition, not to be found in any written documents. This is partially true. But you cannot invert the sentence

and conclude that most of the modern tales are of remote antiquity, and that the whole mass of tales may be dealt with as a unity, supposed to have existed from time immemorial. This is true of single elements in the tales. Many of these elements are found all over the world, and may have existed since the beginning of mankind. They were thus at the disposal of every good story-teller. The working of them into a tale, furnished with names and localised, is the work of individual artists. It occurred to me that many of the modern folk-tales are developments of stories that are found in a somewhat similar form, not in the old, but in the youngest of Irish manuscripts. They were evidently not taken down from oral tradition, but developed from written sources. This fact is now generally recognized. Miss O'Rahilly, for example, has shown that a folk-tale still current is an adaptation of a story composed about the seventeenth century. Dr. Mülhausen, too, has made it probable that some incidents in a modern story, bearing similarity to the Percival-saga, have been influenced by a printed French romance imported into Ireland in modern times. It seemed to me thus an injustice to the old story-teller to treat the ancient Irish sagas as a single whole. In my book on the Irish hero-saga I endeavoured to show how some of the old texts had grown out of more ancient sagas. I tried to make clear what the individual story-teller had found before him and what he added; what in the text might be tradition, what invention. Through the generosity of *Dáil Eireann* I was enabled to publish the work at the period of greatest depression in Germany.

Later, under compulsion, I had to enter on yet another thorny path—the study of the Old-Irish law-texts. My younger friend, the jurist Joseph Partsch (of whom a premature death has since deprived us), was so interested in something I told him about these laws that he insisted on my translating them for him. In vain I protested that I hardly understood one paragraph of the old, original

portions of the text, despite the translations made by O'Curry and O'Donovan, so admirable for the period in which they were executed. Partsch's answer was a simple " You must " ! " I shall come to you," he said, " for an afternoon once a week, and you will translate and explain the text to me." We started with Vol. I, Page 1 of the edition in the Rolls Series. My translation at first was hesitating and stumbling ; but little by little I became better acquainted with the terminology and commenced to realize what a wonderfully exact picture of early Irish society the Laws present. Our partnership soon ended, for Partsch was called to the University of Berlin. Once, however, upon the way I continued upon it without companionship, and from that time forward have been struggling to overcome the difficulties of interpretation which these extremely old texts still offer.

The interests, ethnological, linguistic, literary—which in the past have led Germans to the study of Celtic philology, will not, I trust, prove less attractive in the future. Nor can I doubt that the support and incredible hospitality enjoyed by myself more than once in Ireland will be extended to other German workers in the same field. Thus encouraged, the old inclination of Germans towards Celtic Studies will not only continue, but increase.

Rudolf Thurneysen.

THE TESTAMENT OF DR. BRIDGES

BY ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J., M.A.

A FEW months ago Dr. Bridges made a date not merely in literary history by the publication of a very long philosophical poem.[1] No poem since *The Dynasts* has so stirred the readers of English poetry, though no poem could be more unlike in its verdicts on life to that sad masterpiece. One wonders a little at the association of Bridges and Hardy as of equals, but one reads the poem and wonders no more. For be it said at once that any sane and sensitive critic must approve the chorus of praise that has greeted the poem; to admire such a work is less a tribute to the work than to the critic's own discernment. Yet before expounding its great qualities let us have done with the petty details of technique and with our few and slight complaints.

To begin with, its subject is an enquiry into the ultimate motive-force of man's activity. According to Dr. Bridges this motive-force is "pleasure" defined as the appetite for beauty. This appetite for beauty is verified diversely in the twin instincts of selfhood and breed: the first or egotistic manifestation of it is an exigency for subjective beauty in the satisfaction of personal needs; the second or altruistic form is an exigency for objective or external beauty. This mighty thesis is slowly and lucidly evolved through four books, with illustrations ranging from end to end of the field of human knowledge, with gracious lyrical digressions, and elaborate similes in the epic manner which are themselves digressions but amongst the loveliest of all.

The poem is written in "loose alexandrines." Any

[1] *The Testament of Beauty.* By Robert Bridges. Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: Milford. 1929. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

reader versed in the devices by which Shakespeare varied his iambic pentameters, and prepared to admit in Dr. Bridges' poem an even more lavish use of substitution, will have no difficulty in discerning the general rhythm of the lines. And having found the secret of the metre he will find that it simulates to a fault the hesitancy of thought. He is more likely, however, to be disconcerted by the odd spacing of the paragraphs, the unconventional use (or omission) of capitals, the frequency of the nominative absolute (surprising in a sensitive stylist, despite its high precedents). Above all he will shrink from the innovations in spelling. And here surely with justice! For these innovations, officially authorised by the Poet Laureate of England, must constitute a menace to a language that depends more than any other language on its written word for stability of syntax and pronunciation. Dr. Bridges is indeed a master of English, but he is a slavemaster who sometimes maims his chattel.

Nor will I here stay to argue the doctrine in the poem. Suffice it to say that one misses the cool but eager logic of Lucretius in Dr. Bridges' expositions. His argument, in distrust of metaphysics, seems to proceed from the pragmatic principle that all certainty derives from immediate experience. We should, then, have to recognise in him the stay-at-home mind of the agnostic scientist were it not for an earnest Christianity by which his mind is liberated to acknowledge the supernatural. It is hard to discern by what arguments Dr. Bridges reconciles his religion with his scientific outlook and method, but it is not hard to discern his sincerity. It may be that poetry, the last refuge of the baffled philosopher, has given him a certain intuition of the truth where his reason broke down. Were I writing as a philosopher I should also have to contest certain other issues with him, for example his mechanistic theory of life, his extreme views of evolution, his astonishing theory of the origin of the Bible, his virtual denial of will as specifically a distinct

activity of the soul, his fundamental thesis itself that man pursues loveliness rather than goodness as such, even his alarming censures on good cookery. Elsewhere, when he tells how by offering a peach he matched his sane Periclean σωφροσύνη against the equally sane asceticism of a Jesuit novice (Gerard Hopkins, beyond a doubt), there is a charming, unmeant humour in the incident that disarms even a moralist's criticism. But, as I say, one writing as a critic of literature can prescind from these things, for false doctrine is not necessarily fatal to true poetry.

What then of the essential poetry of the work?—that is our real enquiry. I have already contended in *Studies* that poetry, like all art, is a transfusion of human experience, dependent for its value not on technical devices, nor imagery, nor on the objective truth of any doctrine the poet may chance to defend, but on the authenticity and significance of the soul's adventure which the poet communicates to all who listen. That is to say, the experience must be original, the poet's own, and it must be significant or representative of momentous experiences that are common to men in general. The first function of the critic therefore is to discern the precise nature and representative value of the poet's experience, and to appraise the success of its communication to others.

To estimate accurately, however, Dr. Bridges' experience and its relation to the literature of our time we must glance for a moment over the progress of poetry during the two epochs in each of which he has a firm foot. When he began to write, the British Empire was clearly conquering and to conquer. Its wars were remote, aggressive, profitable as a rule, the new advance of science was promising new power to men, the havoc of the Industrial Revolution was by then either ignored by use or actually remedied. Social stability, the basis of prosperity and of the sense of power, was so precious that the mass of

men conspired to believe that social unrest could never again supervene. The public were offered alternative excuses for accepting as true what was convenient in the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham and the ever-growing Protestant insistence on the demonstrative validity of religious experience. This spirit of self-deception and desperate faith in the immutability of worldly greatness was reflected in literature, mirror of minds and manners. The poets, led by Tennyson, were so fired with the dream of man's perfectibility that they all but proclaimed his achieved perfection. They, like the rest, took for granted the unshakeable virtue of all Englishmen and their habitual converse with great and good ideas for the universal betterment of the race. They infused a quality of comfortable confidence into their poetry, with its soft and bell-like lyrical note, placid metres, processions of syllables that swallowed each other imperturbably like the lapses of a stream. They related their imagery so consistently to the regalia of early summer that they pretty well took these in pawn for poetical stage-properties. Browning reacted against the technique, but not against the shallow aesthetic that the function of poetry is to communicate pleasant emotions, set off at most by plaintive episode in the minor. Arnold reacted against the aesthetic in theory (aware that it would compel critics to scrap *Macbeth* and the like), but he also generally observed it in practice. For the whirligig of time had brought its revenge on Calvinism. Educated people sixty years ago no longer asserted that they could not be good. They told themselves they were already confirmed in goodness.

The inevitable revulsion against priggery, against affected philanthropy and self-admiration was foreshadowed by the *Realpolitik* of Disraeli. In literature it was at first almost as artificial as the complacency it sought to overthrow. For the picturesque naughtiness of " ninetyism " born of the voluptuousness of Rossetti

was really an ephemeral phase. There ensued for poetry a period of transition and experiment that is not yet ended. But after the war the dream of settled social conditions was so definitively shattered, and the need of settlement so urgent, that the mind of the New Youth was forced to seek the understanding of real life and its problems in realism. They initiated a revolt against humbug, against sentimentality or feigned emotion, against self-deception or feigned belief. In external life their mediums were slang and jazz. They tended to make a god of laughter and the sense of humour and a mockery of spiritual ideas and intellectual interests. But they at least got rid of humbug. In literature their spirit expressed itself in a demand for poetical truth, which is the authenticity of experience—in other words for that originality which is sincerity. The modern poet's experience must above all be his own and spontaneously expressed. He must be a pioneer, a voyager into the unknown, a Marco Polo or a Dampier of the mind. The only demand that is universally made nowadays of the poet, if his work is to have value for us, is that its mood and outlook be convincingly genuine, neither forced nor derived nor in the least simulated. We must be assured that he has loyally sought the truth in himself and faithfully transmits its tidings.

Our modern poets convey this guarantee of poetic integrity by embodying in their poems the engaging idiosyncrasies of their own personalities as well as the precise complex of circumstances that distinguishes this experience from all other experiences. They even tend to sacrifice significance to ensure authenticity. To enhance the realism they willingly stoop to admit trivial or commonplace subjects into their poetry. To exclude artifice and all suggestion of the ready-made, they eschew imagery and poetic diction and approximate their metres to the rhythm of common speech. No one, each virtually pleads, but myself can be shown to have had such

experience. And the plea is effective when the analysis of character and experience has been conscientious. That is why we find such great diversity of personality in modern poetry. Only Alice Meynell has that quality of quiet and aloof sensibility, consciously controlled, only Mr. De la Mare that grief and compassion for imperfect things (that is, that *kind* of grief), only Mr. Yeats that yearning for lost Eden, only Rupert Brooke that cynical suppression of the impulse to revolt, only Hardy that patient sense of the futility of life, only Mr. Davies that delighted acceptance of simple pleasures, only Mr. Graves that quizzical perception of the incongruities of things. Each poem of each of these poets has then got ulterior qualifications individuating its mood until it becomes wholly true of just *one* experience; though it remains representative of many, because any factor of the experience could be shared by any other man. By such sincerity, by such ascetic fidelity to the truth of their own lives, do these poets contrive to convince and revive a generation that is even more weary of self-delusion than of the search for truth.

Now Mr. Squire and others of Dr. Bridges' reviewers have been charging the public with their neglect of him all these years. One can understand their indignation, but not wholly justify it. For outside of his own friends many readers have hitherto entertained certain doubts about the value of his work (we may frankly admit this now that these doubts are silenced). They could not be sure of the vitality, the independence of impulse, in fact the authenticity of his work. His verse seemed to be less plainly stamped with personality than that of his contemporaries. His habitual mood was serene and restrained, never impetuous with the urgency of peremptory inspiration. Above all, his verse had a note of conscious elaboration that suggested to the unwary critic a mere re-arrangement of borrowed plumes. His very virtues promoted this impression. He was

certainly of all English poets, at least since Milton, the poet most finely educated *as* a poet. His critical masterpieces, even when unconventional in opinion, were monuments of thought and exact knowledge. His self-culture, moreover, did not stop at the assimilation of technique; it extended to his mind, which (if I am not fanciful) he seemed to be deliberately disciplining to be able to generate under fit stimulus the poetical impulse. He experimented indeed in familiar diction and subtly-stressed metres, but always with a scholarly regard for tradition, which the unwary critic again interpreted as that of a borrower. And some people, in blind reliance on the old adage, took this systematic self-culture for proof that he was not a poet nor ever could be. If we add that people remembered that he was a mature writer under Tennyson, we can readily see their grounds for doubting his originality and inspiration. But these grounds should not have been convincing, as we now see, even to the most morbid anti-Victorian of our time. This mildness of tone in Dr. Bridges was the outcome not of poverty of impulse but of restraint of impulse.

And here in *The Testament of Beauty* our doubts are finally set at rest. It may not disprove that Dr. Bridges is a self-created genius, a poet made with hands, but it *does* vindicate him as a poet and a mighty poet. Here we have all that was great in Victorianism without its humbug. Here we have its seriousness and its converse with fundamental things. But we have not here its cocksureness (a veil for the deeper doubt), its self-righteousness, its self-hallucination, its trumpery vaticinal accent and consciousness of an audience. We have instead a clear-sighted recognition of the evil in things and the mystery of it, without any effort to attract attention by strident exaggeration. Rather we have a quiet utterance, intimate as of muted strings, in the language as it is spoken. Poetry, which is one of the

guardians of truth, has indeed opened to Dr. Bridges the secret shelter of its wings.

The experience that the poem communicates is that static experience which is the temper of a soul, that quality of consciousness with which Dr. Bridges has looked out upon life from his lonely watch-tower for the most part of a century. He has bequeathed us himself. He allows us to overhear the aloof self-communings of the imperial spirit in debate with itself, groping eagerly for the truth, and to behold the grave serenity that has come with knowledge. The exact mood of the poem is the ecstasy of intense, brooding contemplation, an ecstasy generated not by any special object contemplated, but by contemplation as such, by the narcotic properties of thought itself. Nevertheless the width of the survey of the human battlefield intensifies in the reader this ultimate mood of calm and strength and heightens its significance. That survey informs him with a sense of mighty and intense peace won by long strife, as it were, at last concluded, with the problems of human life. And reflecting, in the light of our new knowledge, on the whole of Dr. Bridges' poetry we see it now as that of a man at peace with the world because he has discovered, by wrestling with his angel in the dark, that there is salvation for man. But he finds that salvation, not, like the Victorians, in any prerogative innate in man, but in the "activ Lover of all" Who conducts his destiny.

It is astonishing with what consistency this mood of exalted contemplation is maintained despite the variation of the subject-matter. Hear the exordium of the fourth book soaring well-nigh with the strength of the Evangelist :—

> Beauty, the eternal Spouse of the Wisdom of God
> and Angel of his Presence thru' all creation,
> fashioning her new love-realm in the mind of man,
> attempteth every mortal child with influences
> of her divine supremacy . . .

Or this that reminds one of that other eagle of Thebes :—

Mortal Prudence, handmaid of divine Providence,
hath inscrutable reckoning with Fate and Fortune :
We sail a changeful sea through halcyon days and storm,
and when the ship laboureth, our stedfast purpose
trembles like as the compass in a binnacle.
Our stability is but balance, and wisdom lies
in masterful administration of the unforeseen.

Hear the occasional Sophoclean suavity of this lover of nature and human origins :—

Long had the homing bees plunder'd the thymey flanks
of famed Hymettus harvesting their sweet honey :
agelong the dancing waves had lapp'd the Aegean isles
and promontories of the blue Ionian shore
—— where in her Mediterranean mirror gazing
old Asia's dreamy face wrinkleth to a westward smile—
and the wild olive, cleft-rooted in Attica,
wreath'd but the rocks, afore the wandering Aryan tribes,
whose Goddess was ATHENA, met, and in her sight
knew themselves lords of Hellas and the Achaean land
whereto they had come fighting, for their children to win
heritage of Earth's empire.

Hear him when he speaks gnomically :—

The repudiation of pleasur is a reason'd folly
of imperfection. Ther is no motiv can rebate
or decompose the intrinsic joy of activ life,
whereon all function whatsoever in man is based.

Hear him as an analyst of mood :—

. . . . [A violin]
speaking with incantation of strange magic to charm
the dreams that yet undreamt lurk in the unfathom'd deep
of mind, unfeatured hopes and loves and dim desires,
uttermost forms of all things that shall be.

Note his sense of the tragedy of the transitoriness of beauty :— Some poet long since
sang his throbbing passion to immortal sleep—with coy
tendernesses delicat as the shifting hues
that sanctify the silent dawn with wonder-gleams,
whose evanescence is the seal of their glory
consumed in self-becoming of eternity ;
till every moment as it flyeth, cryeth " Seize !
Seize me ere I die ! I am the Life of Life."

But note too how these diverse moods and echoes of ancient voices are subdued and assimilated to the temper of his own personality with the same quiet masterfulness with which in the two middle books of the poem he shapes the doctrine of the *Phaedrus* to the needs of his own philosophy.

For once then it seems safe to predict immortality of a living poet. If we compare his work with the great philosophical poems either of the past or the present, it invites the same confidence. *In Memoriam*, for all the lyrical sweetness of its details, is as a whole incoherent beside it and at times pretentious. *The Prelude* is a record of impressions rather than convictions, and is certainly less comprehensive than this Testament. Epicurus and Hesiod are pedestrian in comparison. *Hymnen an die Nacht*, more lovely, is less tangible. Omar's is but decorative philosophy; while those who have read the old Arab say that he lacks fire. Lucretius, indeed, wrote a far greater philosophical poem, but his work has partly perished. Dante, beside whom even Lucretius dwindles, does not enter here to confound, for he was not specifically a philosophical poet in our sense. As for the poetry of to-day I think reflection will bear me out that no poem by any living English poet, however powerful or lovely in itself, will not seem either raw or insignificant beside this one. For no poem by a poet of like genius has so participated in the seriousness of the Victorians as this one. Of such a work it seems not rash to predict permanence, the permanence, at least, of the great unread.

It may seem, however, that we have proved too much, that we must logically conclude this to be the greatest poem in the world's literature. After all, is it not an authentic experience embracing in its scope the whole of human life? Is it not truly "the vision of the seer who saw the spirit of man"? Yes, but we do not thereby assert the poem to be the supreme of human masterpieces. If we compare it with a work such as

Everyman we are aware of a greater intensity, a stronger grip in the mediaeval poem, caused by the fact that every part of it produces in some degree the total effect of the whole. In the modern work the review of life is more piecemeal, less immediate (if the gradation of a negative may be forgiven). As the scholastics would say in their precise terms, the soul is present in *Everyman* definitively as in men, in the *Testament* circumscriptively as in trees. The effect of *The Testament of Beauty* is hence cumulative; you must read all or most of the poem to achieve it. This defect is of the nature of all philosophic poems and accounts for their fewness. For if they are to be truly philosophical at all, they must proceed step by step in the gradual manner of reason. And this is not the highest poetical method, which is immediate and intuitive. As Dr. Bridges himself says, "we come not by Reason at Beauty." The pitfall of the philosophic poet, dreadfully illustrated in the fate of Pope, is that he may mistake his reasoning for the substance of his poetry. Even if he avoids this he must, if he remain philosophic, present an analysis of human life; whereas as a poet he must make this suggest a synthesis, a simple intuition, of human life. Hence a more roundabout method of achieving the specific effect of poetry and a consequent loss of intensity. Could one make a poem embodying an experience of the dimensions of Dr. Bridges' experience and yet retaining in every part the emotional content of the whole, then at last were Shakespeare dethroned. *Sed hoc opus, hic labor est.* This indeed passes human genius.

And so we indeed spoke justly when we said at the very outset that Dr. Bridges has distinguished this generation by the publication of his poem, a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ, high, it may yet be reckoned, among the great philosophical poems of the world. Like a true Platonist he has written not for the herd. No poem in English is a finer touchstone to its readers of the feeling for the

essential things in poetry; no poem makes more austere reading, though it can be compared to *Clarissa* amongst novels or the *Arabia Deserta*. And like *Clarissa*, like the *Arabia Deserta*, like the high, thin, spiritual air of the *Chanson de Roland*, like the long-drawn roar of battle in the *Iliad*, like all works whose very length and stubbornness of texture betray their vitality, it leaves its reader permanently changed, with a new sadness perhaps, but with renewed courage and renewed conviction of his destiny. And it may be that the great ones of the years unborn may turn to it to recover their faith in the permanence of ideals challenged by the ever-swelling tide of change, as who to-day amid the waste of waters should turn to the Sunian headland and see the columns of the ancient temples still straining intrepidly against the tempests of the northern sky.

ARTHUR LITTLE.

THE ENCYCLICAL "MENS NOSTRA" AND A RECENT CONTROVERSY ON PRAYER

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THE year of the sacerdotal jubilee of our Holy Father Pius XI has been truly an *annus mirabilis*. It has witnessed the reconciliation of Italy with the Holy See, an event most dear to the paternal heart of the Vicar of Christ; England has seen 136 of her glorious martyrs for the Faith raised to the honours of the altar; and our own land has had no mean share in the glory of this wonderful year. Yet as "the beauty of the king's daughter is within," it may well be that in the designs of God's providence the Pope's Encyclical "Mens Nostra" (Dec. 23) is the outstanding event of 1929, for it is a clear, urgent call to a deepening of the spiritual life. In it our Holy Father speaks to the whole body of the faithful of Christ—to prelate, to clerk and to layman—not merely with the pastoral authority of Peter but with a quite personal note drawn from his own sacerdotal life. We hear not merely the voice of the Supreme Pontiff, but the voice of Achille Ratti, Priest of God, thanking the Most High for the graces of fifty years priesthood, and passing on to us, as if we were kneeling in his confessional, his own spiritual experience. What he advises he has tried himself.

Apart from the immense practical import of this great Encyclical, it has a speculative interest of some importance for students of Catholic spirituality. Of recent years there has been a vast amount of discussion and controversy centred on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, often conducted in a tone too sharp and acrid for edification, and sometimes verging towards an actual disparagement of St Ignatius's work. This

must stop. Pius XI, following his predecessors Paul III, Alexander VII, Benedict XIV and also Leo XIII, sets the Church's seal of approval on the drill-book of St. Ignatius for the soldiers of God. From henceforth all Catholic writers who desire "sentire cum ecclesia" must refrain from any belittling of Ignatian methods.

> And in very deed, the excellence of spiritual doctrine altogether free from the perils and errors of false mysticism, the admirable facility of adapting the Exercises to any order or state of men, whether they devote themselves to contemplation in the cloister, or lead an active life in the affairs of the world, the apt co-ordination of the various parts, the wonderful and lucid order in the meditation of truths that seem to follow naturally one from another; and lastly the spiritual lessons, which, after casting off the yoke of sin and washing away the diseases inherent in his morals, lead a man through the safe paths of abnegation and the removal of evil habits up to the supreme heights of prayer and divine love; without doubt all these are things which sufficiently show the efficacious nature of the Ignatian method and abundantly commend the Ignatian meditations.

In this passage we see how the Vicar of Christ regards the breadth and adaptability of St. Ignatius's Exercises, their suitability to all sorts and conditions of men, even those called to high contemplation. But we must further note that what the Holy Father approves and prescribes is the Exercises *secundum mentem S. Ignatii*. The Encyclical practically gives us the slogan "Back to St. Ignatius," and prescribes as far as possible the Ignatian ideal of the closed, solitary retreat with all that it implies of resolute realism in the spiritual life.

The Exercises as given by St. Ignatius himself and by the men he trained were no trifling spiritual adventure. At least it meant a month's solitary confinement with hard spiritual labour. It was no question of listening to a series of elegant sermonettes punctuated with half-hearted reflections. It was the retreatant who had to work, not the man who gave the retreat. There were no ready-made meditations. The book of the Exercises

was not in the hands of the retreatant; he was supposed not even to know of its existence; it was the guide book of the director, not of the penitent. The director gave perhaps the outline of the current meditation, but only in the barest outline; the real work of meditation had to be done by the man who made the retreat. He had to put in a course of hard realistic thinking, helped if necessary by the director but not carried pick-a-back. The patient had to conduct his own treatment; the spiritual physician was there to make suggestions and note the patient's reactions, to give what instruction was necessary to enable the retreatant to make his meditations, but not to make these meditations for him. The director knew the plan of the exercises, their tactics and strategy, but he was only to give such information as would enable the retreatant to get through the task in which he was immediately engaged. He was not to know what was coming; it was to have for him the dynamic force of novelty.

Doubtless, if St. Ignatius could have had his way, the book of the Exercises would have been a secret manual for the directors alone, as it was in those earliest retreats given by St. Ignatius and his companions, retreats whose efficacy was so astonishing that they gave rise to a whole crop of Protestant legends and led Melchior Cano to suspect St. Ignatius of Illuminism, a suspicion he never seems to have got rid of. The publication of the Exercises robbed them, to a certain extent, of their efficacy; for it took away this note of the unexpected which in the original designs of St. Ignatius, a master of psychology if ever there was one, gave that touch of psychic dynamism which worked marvels. If to-day the system of the Exercises seems mechanical and formal the fault is due to the retreatant knowing what is coming next. The knowledge of the course of a retreat and the ready-made meditation are the two chief psychological obstacles to-day. Both are due to the popularity of the Ignatian

retreat; the first is perhaps inevitable, but the second is avoidable.

We are apt to regard the Ignatian meditation as something apart from and independent of the Exercises taken as a whole. It has become so widespread a form of mental prayer that we lose sight of its specific character in the Exercises. What I am going to put forward will seem paradoxical. St. Ignatius meant the so-called Ignatian meditation for the Exercises specifically and not as a type of mental prayer for everyday use. His primary intention, I submit, was to construct a tactic which should carry out the strategy of the whole Exercises. Hence its very intensive character and its precision which mark it off from the easy-going type of meditation in current use at that time. Of the three modes of prayer given in the Fourth Week, only the first is related and that distantly to the system given in the First Exercise. Why give us these three methods if he intended the so-called Ignatian meditation for ordinary daily use outside the special period of the Exercises? Later on it was adapted to this purpose, but in the beginning it was not so. In the actual Exercises it is part of the drill, the necessary marching step with which the manoeuvre must be carried out—strenuous, rapid, precise, with a formality more suited to the parade ground than to the ordinary walks of life. It was a discipline to be taught to the retreatant in broad capable outlines, but its nicer details and directions were for the conductor of the retreat, as was its general strategy. The retreatant was taught to meditate in the modern fashion strictly with a view to the Exercises, and to facilitate the director in observing and controlling his reactions. You can't drill soldiers if you let them march as a mob; but if you drill them too much, you rob them of initiative. St. Ignatius made no such mistake; he allowed plenty of freedom outside the period of exercises. Hence the comparative liberty of

the three methods of prayer, as compared with the meditation as forming part of the Exercises.

We can see now the problem before the director of a retreat: to guide, without seeming to guide, the retreatant along a path carefully mapped out in every crossing and turning and to secure his free deliberate choice, while shaping it usefully but unostentatiously. It was the retreatant who had to decide; the director was merely to suggest the materials needed for the decision and guard the retreatant from the pitfalls of the way. What tact he needed to secure a good issue, what self-restraint to refrain from doing too much! It was so fatally easy to over-suggest the treatment of the meditation, to change it into a sermonette, to give the retreatant the ready-made meditation, to feed him on canned spirituality, to let him chase notions when he should hunt realities. Routine begot rhetoric to escape detection, and the quest of high and interesting considerations capable of literary record replaced the search for simpler but less elegant motives to rouse a sluggard will. Notes of retreats grew into books of meditations giving much pious reading to the faithful, good doubtless but dreadfully dull; and these in turn bred dull retreats. *Corruptio optimi pessima.* The popular demand for the Exercises had led to methods of mass-production foreign to the true intent, as it seems to me, of St. Ignatius. Here, I think, we shall find the causes of the present discontents, the true fount and origin, the Shannon Pot, of that vast stream of criticism which sweeps through the volumes of the Abbé Bremond and finds its Ardnacrusha in his *Introduction à la Philosophie de la Prière.*[1]

It would be a high impertinence on my part to attempt any merely literary estimate of the Abbé Bremond's work. One can but wonder at and admire his splendid industry, courage and skill. He has restored to the domain of French literature a vast and rich territory,

1 Bloud & Gay. 1929. 33 fr.

he has forced the incredulous to realise its value, and he has mapped and described its treasures with an understanding which borders on genius. The Académie Française has recognised the value of his *Histoire littéraire du Sentiment religieux en France* by welcoming him among the "Immortals," and I think all students of French letters will admit that few "fauteuils" have been better earned. As a man of letters (*reduplicative ut sic*, to quote one of his own favourite tags) the Abbé Bremond has done more than yeoman service for Catholicism.

As a polemist the Abbé Bremond is a joy to all who love a first rate literary scrap. In his encounters with Père Cavallera we are irresistibly reminded of the *retiarius* dancing round the heavy-armed *secutor*, catching his shield with a dextrous flick of the net and landing a vicious jab with the trident, evading the heavy return cut with an agility more graceful than convincing, yet dreadfully exhausting to his opponent and wildly irritating. He is Knox, Belloc and Chesterton rolled into one. Would that his fights were ever *ad extra!* Domestic duels, however entertaining, are seldom profitable and never edifying.

Apart from the very sharp polemical tone of his *Introduction à la Philosophie de la Prière*, there is another feature of that book which surprised me greatly: a lack of comprehension of the true spirit of the Exercises. I may of course be utterly mistaken, but it seems clear to me that the Abbé Bremond does not understand the mind of St. Ignatius as reflected in the actual text of the Exercises. Yet he was bred and trained on the Exercises in St. Ignatius's own Order, trained to meditate *secundum artem;* he brings to the study of the question, I suppose, every possible intellectual equipment, and yet he seems to me, an outsider, to lack understanding of the true spirit of St. Ignatius's spiritual drill. His comparison of the method of the meditation with that

of an exercise of mere rhetoric, the *chria*, is not to be dismissed as a mere *boutade;* it seems to me to be a bit of unconscious self-revelation. Were the directors of his own first serious retreats, those who were to guide his steps in the paths of spirituality, mere formalists who thought the whole art of meditation lay in constructing an eloquent auto-sermon, in talking to oneself fluently without stopping to listen, reflect and apprehend the discourse in the very marrow of one's being? Was he the victim of the ready-made? If so we can readily understand his movements of impatient contempt for what was even a misunderstanding of Roothaan and a total incomprehension of St. Ignatius. If he had realised in practice that the end of the method of meditation was not to construct a discourse which could be committed to paper and read aloud to others to their edification, but to use our power of discursive thought and interior argument to drive home to our deeper consciousness those necessary saving truths which we acknowledge as such with the lips but not the heart, the Abbé Bremond, I think, would have been more restrained in his criticism.

In the meditation as given in the Exercises, the meditation taken *secundum mentem S. Ignatii*, we find an admirable scheme for this deeper culture of the soul; a scheme which, *pace* M. Bremond, is not merely ascetical but profoundly mystical as well. The problem is to convert our notional assents, weak and inoperative, merely intellectual certitudes with little power to energise the will, notions which give us the wish but not the will to sacrifice self to God, and to transform these notional into real assents, deep-rooted in our consciousness, determining our wills to God. Mere reflection, the mere composition of an auto-sermon, is insufficient to effect this vast transformation of spiritual potential, this change of a truth merely recognised as true in the abstract to a truth apprehended as true for us in a personal, dynamic

sense, as inevitable in its urgency. We may reason it out as long as we like ; but unless we can get the arguments to bite into our deeper selves, our assent will remain notional and our resolution a mere formalism.

But how can a truth acknowledged as true already by our minds, be made to bite deeper ? We may make a forced adhesion of the will and make conation the prime factor of our spiritual life, being perforce content with the lesser light ; or we may seek illumination humbly from the Father of Lights. We have the Second Prelude, the pause as well as the scheme of the application of the powers. Side by side with his suggestions for the due use of our natural faculties, St. Ignatius bids us in many a hint to be attentive to the grace which he confidently anticipates will be given, to wait on it, to cooperate with it. With a little bad will you could plausibly indict St. Ignatius for quietism, as Melchior Cano did. These " quietistic " factors, I am inclined to think, played no small rôle in the Exercises as given by St. Ignatius himself and by those he trained in his methods. Melchior Cano distinctly charged the Saint with being an Alombrado, and tried hard to get the Spanish Inquisition to deal with him.

The scare about quietism, the mass-production of the Exercises, the Cartesian idolatry of the " clear idea," and the French love of rhetoric—all combined to push into the background those features of the Exercises *secundum mentem S. Ignatii* which were suspect of mysticism. The school of Lallemant, in reality much closer to their Holy Father St. Ignatius, had to yield place to the schools of Rodriguez and Roothaan. To-day M. Bremond is fighting their successors in the persons of Pères Watrigant and Cavellera, and the old charge of quietism is flung back. It is provoked of course by M. Bremond's designation of the Ignatian method as " *Ascéticisme*," a term which does not mean asceticism (*ascétisme* in French), but has been specially coined to

annoy Père Cavallera by thus denominating the type of mental prayer he prefers. It is rather in the nature of a bogey carefully constructed by M. Bremond from a *catena* of texts culled from the most extreme of the followers of Rodriguez. An *ascéticiste* in the Bremondian sense seems to be a super-Martha, one who subordinates prayer to the active life and looks on prayer primarily as a means of self-culture. He is anthropo-centric rather than theocentric in his devotional exercises. His prayer is strictly practical, his meditation a means of acquiring virtue. Bremond nails in these theses and gives the final vicious jab of his trident to Père Cavallera in a set of quotations from M. Vincent's *St. François de Sales, Directeur d'âmes*, which as quoted make one wonder what kind of ecclesiastical censorship exists in France. But a reference to the volume in question shows that our nimble *retiarius* is a past master of the delicate art, dear to the politician, of taking quotations out of their contexts. M. Vincent is not at all so heretical as he looks in M. Bremond's pages, though he might well have been more guarded in his language.

But can the meditation, the Ignatian or the modern variety, be employed as a direct exercise in virtue, can we by taking thought add cubits to our moral stature? Such power seems to be claimed by several of M. Bremond's "asceticists" who claim for the modern meditation that it is a "practical prayer." Bremond ridicules the idea, but is he wholly right? Modern psychology admits the great power of suggestion even in the waking state, and still more where some form of psychic passivity is present. Given a suitable technique, there is no reason why a merely natural meditation should not give rise to good or bad habits, and still more the specifically religious meditation. Then too M. Bremond forgets that there are infused virtues as there is infused science, and both may well be given to the faithful soul in the course of a fervent meditation. In his rules for

the discernment of spirits St. Ignatius seems to anticipate this possibility. Of course this is one of the points of contact between the method of the Exercises and that experience properly called mystical. But there is a vast amount in the Exercises *secundum mentem S. Ignatii* which cannot be reduced to the purely ascetical type of spiritual experience. Indeed the stress which St. Ignatius lays on consolations and desolations, and the description he gives of these states, shows that he at any rate set up no boundary problem in the spiritual life. Nay, he seemed to court the extraordinary, to expect the intervention, the almost visible intervention of God in the course of a retreat. He seems in the Additions of the First Week to wish almost to force the hands of God ! Then his manner of leading up to the very centre of the Retreat, the Election, gives also the combination of waiting on God and working the problem oneself. Martha and Mary pull together, as they did when Lazarus died.

The transfer of the meditation from its setting in the Exercises to its present position as the normal type of mental prayer for the devout Christian not called to mystical contemplation proper has had the effect of stereotyping a form expressly designed for a very special purpose and of so to some extent restricting the freedom of mental prayer. It was almost like mounting an aeroplane engine on a motor car. In its full intensity the Ignatian meditation was too powerful for daily use, too concentrated, too intense. Relaxed and adjusted, it tended to formalism and led to those books of meditations which so ill replace the *Imitation* as spiritual reading. What a literature has grown round the meditation, and what very poor stuff the vast bulk of it is from a literary point of view ! No wonder M. Bremond preferred the mystics. At least they are comparatively free from the pious *cliché* and trite phrase.

John Howley.

THE MENACE OF THE BRITISH PRESS COMBINES

BY RICHARD S. DEVANE, S.J.

THE purpose of this article is to direct attention to what the writer considers to be a national menace—the possibility, and even the probability, of the extinction of our daily press. To understand the position we must first deal with the recent developments of the syndicalised or commercialised press in England. Vast combines have become the order of the day. These combines became possible through a series of mechanical improvements in printing presses and in paper manufacture which caused circulation and advertising to develop to undreamed of dimensions, and which concomitantly demanded and made possible Big Capital. The evolution of the newspaper has followed the same lines of development as in other industries; the larger firm or combine has gradually swallowed up the smaller.

In the beginning of the last century the biggest circulation attainable fell much below 5,000 copies. In the second decade, owing to the invention of the Koenig printing machine (1811-1814), which supplanted the old hand machine, there was a marked increase in output—5,000 sheets per hour by 1830. There were like developments in type, ink, and especially in paper, which began to be produced from wood-pulp in 1850. The invention of the rotary press in 1860 completely revolutionized the printing of newspapers. These various factors and the abolition of the Stamp Tax in 1855 brought a host of new papers into existence. Other factors in the evolution of the modern cheap press were Reuter's newsagency (1849), the telegraph, the cable and the telephone, while railways and cheap postal rates helped immensely dis-

tribution and sales. The final developments came through the linotype and the great rotary double-cylinder machines, which to-day are turning out for one paper 7,000 copies per minute or 420,000 per hour. The circulation of this paper has reached the enormous figure of 3,000,000.

The number of newspapers published in United Kingdom increased until it reached, 2,331, its highest point, in 1910. Since then there has been a gradual decline, notwithstanding the increase of population and the spread of education among the masses. In 1928 the number had fallen to 2,150, and some of these have since ceased publication or have been absorbed in the great combines. Among the London morning dailies which have ceased publication since 1910 or have been merged with other dailies are the *Standard*, founded in 1827; the *Morning Leader*, incorporated with the *Daily News;* the *Daily Citizen*, which ceased publication in 1915; the *Daily Graphic*, incorporated with the *Daily Sketch* in 1926; and the *Westminster Gazette*, incorporated with the *Daily News* in 1928. A similar fate has fallen to the following London evening dailies: *Globe*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, and *Westminster Gazette*,[1] so that London to-day, with a population of 10,000,000 within a ten mile radius of Fleet Street, has only three evening papers (*Evening News*, *Evening Standard*, and *Star*), whereas a few years ago it had nine.

The seed of the purely commercialised press was sown by Alfred Harmsworth (Lord Northcliffe) when, breaking with English conservative methods of journalism and adopting the then much decried American sensationalism, he founded the *Daily Mail* in 1896. Up to that time individual or family ownership was the rule. The editor of a paper was regarded as a *persona sacra*, whose province was inviolable. Untrammelled by the owners, he exercised complete control in directing

[1] Converted into a morning daily in 1921.

the policy of his paper, and not only had he control over the intellectual side, but also to a considerable extent over the commercial side. Any attempt on the part of the owner to interfere with the editor was regarded as an unwarranted intrusion. These were the good old days when newspapers were financed and run for patriotic motives and the common good, and not as mere catch-pennies and money-making machines. By 1913 Mr. (now Sir) Robert Donald, President of the Institute of Journalists, could say :—

> The proprietorial ownership has almost disappeared. Instead of individual ownership we have corporations, public and private. Nine-tenths of the leading daily and evening newspapers belong to limited companies. Twenty years ago the list of the London Stock Exchange did not contain a single newspaper corporation. Now twelve large companies, representing many millions of capital, figure in the quotations. Many other companies are dealt with publicly in a more restricted market. Stock Exchange annuals contain a list of twenty-six newspaper limited liability companies, all of which, except one (the *Graphic*), have been registered during the last twenty years.

What drew big capital to newspapers and made big circulation possible was advertising. It may be of interest to our legislators to know that for almost 150 years such advertising was heavily taxed. This duty, introduced in 1712 and yielding year by year a considerable revenue to the Exchequer, was not repealed until 1853. In the beginning it was fixed at one shilling for each advertisement. By 1833 it had risen as high as three shillings and sixpence ; but in that year it was reduced to one shilling and sixpence. In 1851 this duty or tax brought £175,094 to the British Exchequer, and in 1853 the advertisements carried in *The Times* alone averaged 1,500 a day. It may also be of interest to our legislators to know that a Stamp Tax was imposed on newspapers in the same year, 1712. Starting at three halfpence per sheet, this tax increased gradually until it stood at fourpence per sheet in 1815, when the usual price of

newspapers was sevenpence per copy. Reduced to a penny in 1836, it was finally abolished in 1855—chiefly through the efforts of Bulwer Lytton and Richard Cobden. Its abolition and the abolition of the advertisement tax, taken in conjunction with the other factors already mentioned, laid the remote foundations for the vast circulations of to-day. To control the overflow of these circulations into Ireland and to save our native press from being swamped under the tide, I advocated in this Review (December, 1927) the imposition of a tariff. If imported newspapers injure not only our native press by their circulation in Ireland, but also our manufacturers by the advertisements of foreign goods which they carry, why should we not impose a tax on these advertisements? History may well be allowed to repeat itself in this case.[1]

The commercialised press began with the halfpenny *Daily Mail* in 1896; and Big Advertisement, with all its sinister implications for the public, took its rise then. From Big Advertisement "has come the means of extending the plant, of improving the machinery of production, of introducing expensive features in the way of news-service, illustrations, competitions and insurance schemes, and of attracting by manifold devices thousands of new readers. Still larger revenue opens up new vistas of expansion for the newspaper, and so the process has gone on until within the last few years the press has become a mechanism for making profit, and its original design and tendency have been utterly forgotten by those who control it."[2] The following few facts will show the money-making capacity of modern advertising. Lord Beaverbrook stated a few years ago that the annual revenue drawn from advertising by London newspapers was £13,000,000. The same nobleman, in a letter

[1] It may be well to say that the imposition of such or any other tariff, without other drastic remedies, would only hasten the coming of the press combines.

[2] Herbert Tracey: *The British Press* (London. 1929. p. 20).

to the Daily Mail Trust (29 Nov., 1929), gave the following figures for his own two papers: *Daily Express*—" The gross advertising revenue for the year 1924 was £800,599, whereas for the year ending December 31, 1929, the gross figure will be in excess of £1,900,000 "; *Sunday Express*—" The gross advertising revenue for 1924 was £97,429, whereas for the year 1929 it will be in excess of £290,000." The front page of the *Daily Mail* sells for £1,400, while the *News of the World* charges £2,200 per page. The revenue drawn per issue from advertisements by *The Times* is £5,000, by *Good Housekeeping* £12,000, by *Punch* £8,000. As a result the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express* devote more than fifty per cent. of their space to advertisements, and these are the imported papers most widely read in Ireland—great organs of propaganda not only for British ideas but also for British goods.

As we are dealing with the evolution of the British press, it may be as well to point out the importance of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 in creating a new type of reader. Up to that date newspaper readers were mainly drawn from the middle and upper classes, whose intellectual and political interests were more or less akin. With the education of the masses came the occasion for a new type of journalism—the " scissors and paste " and " snippet " type. Three foundations followed one another in rapid succession—*Tit Bits* (1881) by George Newnes, *Answers* (1883) by Alfred Harmsworth, and *Pearson's Weekly* (1890) by Arthur Pearson. It was the success of these periodicals that eventually led the way to a similar type of daily newspaper—*e.g.*, the *Daily Mail* in 1896. The time was gloriously ripe for a yellow press; it was the age of jingoism. The Jameson Raid had just taken place; and it was soon followed by the Boer War, which, with its feverish excitement and bellicose sentimentalism, gave ample scope for the Americanised journalism of the new paper. Success was immediate,

and a trail was blazed in which many have followed. When Lord Northcliffe died in 1922 he controlled, directly or through limited liability companies, the *Times*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Evening News*, the *Weekly* (now *Sunday*) *Dispatch*, and some seventy weekly and monthly periodicals. He was the originator of newspaper combines in England, of the system which has converted the old, unselfish, and patriotic type of individual ownership into the gigantic money-making trusts of to-day. One who signs himself "A London Editor," in a striking article in the *Catholic Times* (9 November, 1928), says of the Paper Trusts: "Over two-thirds of the sales of morning, evening, weekly and Sunday papers in this land are in the hands of four men. This dangerously narrow control of opinion and criticism is still growing. Elizabeth's 'tuning of the pulpits' was nothing to it; money is more powerful than monarchy." The reader will more readily grasp the colossal power of the syndicalised press, if some outline of its vast resources is set forth in skeleton form. In putting these figures and facts before him, it is hoped that he will thereby measure up the helplessness and relative poverty of *our* daily press in a competition which is every day growing more severe. The spreading of the tentacles of the Group Press into provincial towns, particularly into Scotland and Wales, will show that Ireland cannot escape when Great Britain's papers have been syndicalised. There are now four main newspaper groups or combines: the Berry, the Rothermere, the Harrison, and the Beaverbrook.[1]

THE BERRY GROUP

"The largest newspaper proprietary in Great Britain and in the world is that controlled by Sir William[2] and Sir Gomer Berry, whose rise in the newspaper business has been as romantic as their success has been phe-

[1] The figures given below are taken from H. Tracey's *British Press*. Some changes have since taken place.

[2] Now Lord Camrose

nomenal. Their vast interests are the creation of little more than ten years' activities."[1] Apart from periodicals (about 200) they control in London three daily and two Sunday newspapers; in the provinces eight morning, eight evening and three Sunday newspapers; fourteen weekly newspapers; in Scotland two morning, two evening and two weekly newspapers, and one Sunday newspaper. With the acquisition (1927) of the Edward Lloyd Paper Mills they became the biggest paper manufacturers in Great Britain. The financial units of this group are as follows :—

Amalgamated Press, Ltd.—£9,200,000.

Allied Newspapers, Ltd.—£7,717,750.

Allied Northern Newspapers, Ltd.—£4,000,000.

Associated Scottish Newspapers, Ltd.—£900,000.

Sketch and Daily Graphic, Ltd.—£1,548,751.

Graphic Publication, Ltd.—£123,000.

Newcastle Chronicle, Ltd.—£1,400,000.

Kelly's Directories, Ltd.—£1,130,069.

Weldon's Publications, Ltd.—£385,000.

Western Mail, Ltd.—£196,000.

Financial Times, Ltd.—£392,129.

Daily Telegraph, Ltd.—(Capital not disclosed).

PRINCIPAL NEWSPAPERS

LONDON—Daily Telegraph, Daily Sketch, Financial Times, Sunday Times, Sunday Graphic.

MANCHESTER—Daily Dispatch, Evening Chronicle, Sunday Chronicle, Empire News.

NEWCASTLE—North Mail, Evening Chronicle, Sunday Sun.

SHEFFIELD—Daily Telegraph, Evening Telegraph.

CARDIFF—Western Mail, South Wales Evening Express, South Wales News.

GLASGOW—Daily Record, Evening News, Sunday Mail.

ABERDEEN—Aberdeen Press, Evening Express.

DERBY—Express and Mercury.

BRISTOL—Bristol Times.

DARLINGTON—Darlington and Stockton News.

MIDDLESBROUGH—North Eastern Gazette.

(The Berrys now own the only Welsh morning paper).

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* 1929 edition.

THE ROTHERMERE GROUP

Northcliffe Newspapers, Ltd.—£5,500,000.
Associated Newspapers, Ltd.—£4,100,000.
Daily Mail Trust, Ltd.—£2,014,500.
Daily Mirror, Ltd.—£2,200,000.
Sunday Pictorial Ltd.—£1,370,000.
London Express Newspapers, Ltd.—49 per cent. interest.

(Like the Berrys, Rothermere and Co. also own great paper mills).

PRINCIPAL NEWSPAPERS

LONDON—Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, Evening News, Sunday Pictorial, Sunday Dispatch, with a 49 per cent. interest in Daily Express, Sunday Express and Evening Standard.

DERBY—Derby Telegraph.
LINCOLN—Lincolnshire Echo.
BRISTOL—Evening World.
SHEFFIELD—Evening World.
HANLEY—Sunday Sentinel, Staffordshire Sentinel.
CHELTENHAM—Gloucestershire Echo.
PLYMOUTH—Western Morning News.
NEWCASTLE—Evening World.
CARDIFF—Evening World.
SWANSEA — Cambrian Daily Leader, South Wales Daily Post.
GLOUCESTER—Citizen.

THE HARRISON OR INVERESK GROUP

The controlling spirit of this group is William Harrison, who as Chairman of the Inveresk Paper Company proceeded to buy up newspapers in order to have " an assured market for the large output " of his mills—as he himself candidly admitted. At the last meeting of the shareholders he resigned the Chairmanship, but remains a Director. This group specialises in illustrated papers. Apart from the newspapers mentioned below, it controls the *Sphere*, the *Illustrated London News*, the *Tatler*, the *Sketch*, the *Bystander*, *Britannia and Eve*, etc. It also controls most of the paper mills in Great Britain outside of newsprint mills. The financial state of this

company is at present causing grave anxiety to its shareholders.

United Newspapers, Ltd.—£2,000,000.
Illustrated Newspapers, Ltd.—£3,200,000.
Illustrated London News and Sketch, Ltd.—£468,750.

PRINCIPAL NEWSPAPERS.

LONDON—Daily Chronicle, Sunday News.
PRESTON—Lancashire Daily Post, Preston Guardian.
HULL—Hull Daily Mail.
DONCASTER—Gazette.
EDINBURGH—Evening News.
LEEDS—Yorkshire Evening News.

THE BEAVERBROOK GROUP

This group is controlled by Lord Beaverbrook, a Canadian by birth, but now resident in England for some twenty years. Of his principal newspaper, *Daily Express*, Mr. Denis Gwynn wrote in this Review (Sept. 1926): "The *Daily Express* has found a still more lucrative source of revenue in the announcements of the great drapery stores; and the whole policy of the *Daily Express* (which is the most significant phenomenon in Fleet Street during the past few years) has been directed to attracting the public who are chiefly interested in such advertisements. Lord Beaverbrook, who has brought an extremely alert mind and shrewd judgment to the commercial exploitation of the *Daily Express*, admits frankly in his manifestoes about his own journalistic methods that he regards the advertisements of the great drapery stores as one of the principal news features of his papers. And no experienced journalist nowadays would question their value as news." Our drapery stores and our manufacturers of ready-made clothes would certainly question their value as good and desirable news to be broadcasted in Ireland through the medium of English newspapers. We are becoming more and more a nation of hucksters, retailers of foreign goods,

because foreign advertisements carried on foreign newspapers are daily increasing the demand for these goods —hypnotising our people into a belief that nothing of equal value is or can be made in Ireland.

The newspapers controlled by Lord Beaverbrook and capitalised at £1,000,000 are the *Daily Express*, the *Sunday Express* and the *Evening Standard*. Though this group seems to be an obvious rival of the Rothermere group, still the Daily Mail Trust has a 49 per cent. interest in the former, while Lord Beaverbrook holds shares in the *Daily Mail*. There are some curious anomalies in these newspaper combines.

There are some other important groups of newspapers ; but it is unnecessary to give any details of them, as they are not a serious danger to our native press. The four given are the Big Four. It has been forecasted by experienced journalists that the Rothermere and Berry groups will eat up practically the whole provincial press of Great Britain. The supreme question for us is : will their voracious maws be satisfied with this wide range of dishes, or will they ultimately be attracted by some tempting morsels in Ireland ?

As one outside the newspaper world, with its highly complex life, I must fall back on the opinion of men competent to judge the business side of the present situation. That is my apology for the long extracts which I shall now quote. Writing in the thirteenth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*—which, it must be remembered, appeared in 1926—a newspaper expert said " One of the most remarkable developments of the post-war period has been the great progress of the Evening Press in its carrying capacity and circulation. In these respects it has gone ahead in the provinces. The average man in provincial cities has little time to read the morning papers, but devotes his leisure to the Evening Press, which is recently in a state of increasing prosperity. The local evening paper is not subject to the competition

from national newspapers from which the provincial morning newspapers suffer." The significance of this statement received remarkable and practical confirmation when, in the *Daily Mail* of February 13, 1928, Lord Rothermere announced the launching of the Northcliffe Newspapers Limited, with a capital of £5,500,000. The purpose of this company was to set up a chain of evening papers which were to have the news-service of the *Daily Mail* and *Evening News* and the picture-service of the *Daily Mirror* to draw upon. The flotation was described as "the most important scheme of newspaper expansion ever launched in Great Britain." The issue of shares was heavily over-subscribed, showing the confidence of the public in the Rothermere venture. The aims and plans of this new venture were set forth by Lord Rothermere in the following statement :—

To those with technical knowledge of British journalism, it has for some time been apparent that one section of our national press which still lags behind the rest in enterprise and development is that of the provincial evening newspaper. Very few existing publications of this class are equipped with the large resources required to maintain the best possible supply of news and pictures. Most of them are isolated economic units, and suffer in quality from their lack of connection with a powerful press organisation . .

A new stage of great development in provincial evening journalism is now about to begin under the aegis of the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Mirror* . . . . Under the control of a new company and known as "The Northcliffe Newspapers, Limited," it is intended to found evening newspapers in several of our great provincial centres of population. This company will be formed immediately, and plans are already on foot to make the newspapers which it will publish the most up-to-date of their kind in the country. For national and foreign affairs they will share a news-service specially arranged for them by the *Daily Mail*, which they will receive by private wire. For pictures they will be linked with the *Daily Mirror*, which has the longest and most complete organisation in the whole country for securing the best photographs . . . .

It would be entirely wrong to regard the aim of the Northcliffe Newspapers, Limited as being the creation of any sort of monopoly

of the provincial evening press. We have no desire to bring all such newspapers under the control of one group. I am convinced that this view is shared also by Sir William and Sir Gomer Berry, who are already established in that field . . . Sir William Berry and his brother will be, I am sure, the first to admit the undesirability of any form of press monopoly.

Mr. G. K. Chesterton's comment on all this was: "Humour is his lordship's strong point; but his humour is too grim." And addressing his fellow journalists, he continued: "In a few months, far more than to-day, a little gang of millionaire proprietors will own public opinion, and will own you." The question that specially interests us is: when will they lay their plans to own us? Let us see how wide they have spread their nets on the other side of the Irish Sea.

The first centres in which the Northcliffe Newspapers Limited founded new evening papers were Newcastle and Bristol, while in Hanley, Gloucester, Cheltenham and Swansea they bought out the existing evening papers. The Newcastle *Evening World*, the first of the Northcliffe Newspapers, began publication on 9 May, 1929. In the *Daily Mail* of 6 May, 1929, Lord Rothermere announced its forthcoming publication thus: "In every detail of equipment it will be the most modern and efficient evening newspaper existing outside London. Before the first issue of this new journal is put on sale, nearly £300,000 will have been spent on its production. An outlay of this magnitude is without precedent in the foundation of provincial newspapers." On attaining its one hundredth issue this paper had a declared circulation of 200,000 copies, notwithstanding the heroic efforts of the Berry Newcastle *Evening Chronicle* to meet the invasion of its territory. Lord Rothermere, commenting on the success of his paper, said (12 September, 1929): "With big experience of newspaper values to guide me, I would not sell it to-day for £1,200,000. I believe that the field of provincial evening journalism is even more fertile than we

expected." But he has not yet won the field of Newcastle; for in the *Sunday Times* of 8 December, 1929 we read: "The biggest evening paper ever produced in this country, either in London or in the provinces, appeared in the North-East of England on Thursday when the Newcastle *Evening Chronicle* was issued with twenty-four full-sized pages of eight columns, making a total of 192 columns." It is a battle of giants.

Once more the question for us is: shall we become involved in the struggle? It is a delusion to comfort ourselves with the thought that our press is too small fry for such monsters. The citizens of Aberdeen probably comforted themselves with the same thought, and what happened to them? They possessed four local papers: the *Aberdeen Press* and the *Aberdeen Evening Express* (the only morning and evening papers in Northern Scotland), the *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* and the *Fishing News* (organ of the fishing industry). In May, 1928, the shareholders of the Aberdeen Newspapers Limited decided by a majority of 39,907 to sell the undertaking to the Berrys at £4 per share, although Lord Rothermere had offered £4 6s. per share. The Chairman said that Lord Rothermere offered £800,000, while Sir William Berry offered £753,240, with an undertaking to maintain the present policy and staff of the company. Lord Rothermere does not seem to have given the same unqualified undertaking, so that the shareholders sacrificed £46,760 to their sense of national responsibility. A big lawsuit followed; but the court upheld the action of the company. If a similar struggle for our Dublin press were to ensue, how would the shareholders act? £800,000 is a big sum of money —not easily rejected by human nature save in moments of exalted patriotism.[1]

Wales also has a lesson and a warning for us. In

[1] At the meeting of the shareholders "Mr. Coutts, the Manager of the Aberdeen Newspapers Ltd., said that there was ample cause for alarm if the Rothermere Group intended, sooner or later, to issue an Aberdeen replica of the *Daily Mail*" (*Irish Times*, 10 May, 1928).

Cardiff the Berrys acquired the *Western Mail*, the *Evening Express* (both Conservative papers), the *South Wales News*, and the *South Wales Echo* (its Liberal evening paper). Commenting on this, the *Observer* said (26 August, 1928): "Wales is from yesterday reduced to the possession of a single morning paper. As the politics of the survivor are those of the party holding the smallest number of seats in the Principality, it is an unusually piquant suggestion of the relations into which public opinion and its organs are drifting." Lord Rothermere, in reply to the Berry move, bought out in Swansea the *South Wales Daily Post* and the *Cambrian Daily Leader*—both Liberal papers—and has announced his intention of starting soon in Cardiff one of his Evening Worlds (all the new papers founded by the Northcliffe Newspapers Limited bear the same name, *Evening World*). He has already started one not far away in Bristol. The price paid by the Berrys for the *South Wales News* and associated properties is variously estimated at £500,000 and £750,000. Either figure is an alluring offer. Cardiff succumbed to the temptation. What would Dublin do in similar circumstances?

While I have particularly pointed out the two giants, Lord Camrose and Lord Rothermere, as possible and dangerous competitors for our Irish press, I am not unaware of the keen interest manifested in things Irish by that clever and ambitious man, Lord Beaverbrook. But one must make a distinction between him and the other rival paper-lords. His objective is not so much money as political prestige or power. A Canadian by birth he is specially interested in the British Commonwealth of Nations and in a policy of Free Trade within the Empire. As the Free State is a member of this Commonwealth, holding a vital position on the great trade routes, but tending more and more to set up tariff walls and to act independently in the League of Nations, it naturally comes in for a good deal of Lord Beaverbrook's

attention. His paper, the *Daily Express*, is published simultaneously in London, Manchester and Glasgow. The Manchester edition devotes considerable space to Irish news and illustrations—and even to the Irish language, with posters sometimes printed in that language. We need not, it seems to me, be surprised if we wake up some morning soon to find a Dublin edition added to the above.

Last November the Minister for Finance addressed the Philosophical Society of University College, Cork. In the course of his address he painted a brightly coloured picture of cultural developments in an Irish-speaking Ireland of the near future. Some of the details of this picture were as follows: "Instead of two native daily newspapers, Ireland would have four or five. Instead of one small theatre producing plays written by Irish dramatists and acted by Irish players, all the theatres and, perhaps, all the amusement centres would be places where some type of Irish cultural talent would be displayed. Instead of one or two firms publishing a book now and then, they would have, in the printing trade, many times the numbers at present employed in it." That is a noble act of faith in the future; but faith without good works will not save us. So long as the vast bulk of papers, magazines and books read by our people come from England, it is not common sense to hope for a cultural and linguistic revival. And it is less common sense to hope that patriotism will ultimately wean our people from reading this literature. The one Minister most actively interested in the revival of the Irish language is the Minister for Finance, and the one Minister who has it in his power to set up an effective barrier against the avalanche of imported literature is the same Minister for Finance. When he sets up this barrier, we shall begin to have faith in his prophecies.

R. S. Devane.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XIII

ON THE DEATH OF A PRINCESS'S DOG

The following elegy is not, as the Catalogue of the R.I.A. gives it, "on a lady called Farbhlaidh," but on a dog of that name, belonging to a lady Mairghréag, "daughter of Conn" (vv. 1, 4, 8, 10), probably, if the emendation of v. 9 *c* be correct, of the Í Bhriain family. No author is given in the only MS. which contains the poem. For the story of Farbhlaidh and Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh, referred to in v. 2, *cf. Eriu* iv.; *Irisleabhar Muighe Nuadhat*, June, 1928. Several words are illegible in the MS., but the elaborate nature of the verse enables emendations to be attempted with a hope of success, in at least some of the cases.

1. Morgladh gach bróin i mbárr fharbhlaidhe
bhorbadh aṁghaire nír dhóigh mar an gcár ['n-ar gcomhguinne]
do b'éagnach uilc thuim a timdibe
cuilt ingine Cuinn a céadbhrat comnuidhe.

2. Ón chéadfharbhlaidh ar a bhfuil fala ar na fileadhaibh
cara dá gcineadhaibh ní fuil fe [healadhain]
threire ar ar n-óidh ón fharbhlaidh dheimhneigh
dá gabhlaibh geimhleigh nír dhóigh a [dheaghaighidh].

3. Gheall ó ghadhraibh ag a chraobhaibh coibhneara
[aon]dhoigh dhoilgheara i ndamhraibh gacha dinnleara
barr imnidh ar earbaidh na Banbhara
na mearchoin amhara ó do imdhigh a n-ilgheara

4. Bu fearr tlachtmhara ag Mairghréigh na minfeadhna
gur b'infeadhma ón bhrailmhéigh nír dhaltadha gan dheaghumhla
ir uime do bhí 'n-a huchd go hoirfeaghdha
gur bhuime oileamhna í dá luchd leanamhna.

5. Mo nuar fharbhlaidh i gcealladh cuanorta
ón adhbaidh bhudh fuanfocra [i n-eangaigh óirfeannta]
gan chuilte acht dhíogha gan dháil a dhíoghalta
fíodhalta fir nar b'áil acht [fíodha] ir fhóilleadhta.

6. [Gan] faghail cuirte an choimhéada
do b'foighéagha múinte na gadhair ghlanógha
[i ndaighteagh] gach mhóirghille dar maicne na minféadha
aicme mar fhiréadha fa ghlóirbhinne galógha.

7. Mór guair gan anmain [dá] bhrághaidh 'n-ar mbailteine
[tar] na gadhraibh do b'airighe ó a dtánaig ['n-ar dtuinidhe]
[go] marad bean gach iomdaidhe d'foruirre
gadhar toghaidhe na dtreabh d'ionguirre go huilidhe.

8. [Ó] ingin Chuinn ar gcraobh oirnidhe
do chaob oirbhirne nir chuill a timdibhe
[dí] gan fhior do bí bár fharbhlaidhe
cár ar amhgaire nár thí d'fhior na hingine.

9. [Orghlaimidh] dá gcóir d'imneadh ná d'uireardhaidh
an bhuidheanfann nach dingneadh cóir re comharrain
laochraidh mear an Mhoighe [Adharrain]
acht ar bean an gadharrain ar a gcroidhe do chomharnaibh.

10. [Toghaidhear] Mairghréag dá himfhiomh adharca
ghiodh nadharrdha fan mhingniomh an fhailmhéag oireaghdha
[cúir] céillidh ar luaithe ag dol i ndeaghumhla
do mhodh ar n-ealadhna uaithe gan déinimh doimheanma

Morghadh.

Translation

1. In Farbhlaidh's death is the awaking of every grief; unexpected was any stirring of trouble like this calamity which now wounds us; her death means complaint of heavy misfortune; the cloak of Conn's daughter was her constant favourite resort.

2. Owing to the first Farbhlaidh who brought disfavour on poets no friend to the races of dogs follows the poetic art; owing to this last Farbhlaidh we were in better favour and her brave face was formidable to all her kindred.

3. Farbhlaidh's pedigree surpassed all dogs; a stab of pain to every castle's warriors is the anxiety, now added to Banbha's loss; for these famous pet-dogs have lost their great prerogatives.

4. Mairghréag ever kept the little dogs in good care so that they were ever submissive to that graceful lady; they were not naughty pets; 'tis because Farbhlaidh was good nurse to her pack that she had an honoured place on Mairghréag's lap.

5. Alas for Farbhlaidh now in the dogs' graveyard, leaving her most comfortable home in a gold adorned covering, with no couch-clothes now, but the ditch —yet she did naught to be so treated—this noble pet which loved only silk and satin cushions.

6. Without raiding the butler's quarters, but ever in the goodly houses of our troop's big soldiers, the bright young dogs, the little darlings, were a model of conduct (?), a pack like angry young ferrets, tunefully barking.

7. Great the danger now that Farbhlaidh's breast is no longer in our castle, Farbhlaidh who, beyond all dogs, shunned all (strangers) who came into our stronghold, a splendid dog for guarding all our quarters, so that a woman was enough to keep guard over each compartment.

8. Not because of any complaint from our noble princess, Conn's daughter, did Farbhlaidh deserve to die; she knew not of Farbhlaidh's death; may no greater affliction ever befall that lady!

9. I absolve from their due share of trouble and affliction, but not from the groans drawn from their hearts by this dog's death, this race which would never argue for its rights with a neighbour (but would fight for them), these alert heroes of Magh Adhair.

10. Let Mairghréag be roused from her constant grief; though this noble princess is in gloom over this little thing, a wise course, which most quickly leads to resignation, is, in accord with my wisdom, not to yield to dejection over the dog.

Notes

MS.: R.I.A. A iv. 3, p. 879. Readings departed from are noted below, illegible places being represented by dots. In the text square brackets enclose conjectural reconstructions.

1 *b* nᴀ comʒ . . . . 2 *b* heᴀl . . . . *d* ɔeıɲꝺ (? almost quite illegible). Emendations and translation doubtful. 3 *b* MS. torn; ɔᴀṁᴀɲ ÷ *d* ɔo ımʒ (dotted line overhead). 4 *b* ɔᴀltᴀꝺᴀ (indistinct). 5 *b* ᴀ neᴀnʒ ÷ oıɲ . . . . transl. doubtful. *d* ɾíoɔᴀ not in MS. 6 *a* A word or words 2 or 3 letters longer than ʒᴀn seems to have faded in MS. 6 *b* ꝑoıʒéᴀʒ generally used as "support"; múınte "of teaching," "of training," but the phrase may be simply "trained puppies." *c* MS. indistinct. 7 *a* ʒuᴀıɾ; ɔo. *b* ᴀɲ; ᴀıɲ (dotted line overhead); nıɲ ɔ . . . . . If ᴀɲ be kept "watchful over the (other) dogs against . . ." *c* illegible. ꝺeᴀn may refer to the dog "so that she a female etc." 8 *a* illegible. *c* ɔı uncertain in MS. 9 *a* ᴀɾ ċluınıɔ (c uncertain). *c* mᴀʒᴀɲɾᴀın. 10 *a* . . . ʒuıɲ (long dotted line overhead). *c* c. . . .

POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES

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TO those who have uncritically accepted the assertions and assumptions which have been current for several years concerning American prosperity, the title of this article will suggest the hackneyed reference to snakes in Ireland. How can poverty co-exist with prosperity? Nevertheless economic students and, indeed, all intelligent observers are well aware that the latter does not necessarily exclude the former, particularly when the term "prosperity" is used vaguely and for purposes of propaganda.

Several months ago the Honorable James J. Davis, then as now Secretary of Labor in the President's Cabinet, was reported as asserting in a letter to a friend in Wales that eighty-six per cent. of the members of the working class in the United States were living in poverty. Secretary Davis is himself a native of Wales. As a matter of fact Secretary Davis was merely quoting, perhaps without using quotation marks, a statement made in a volume by a Columbia Professor that "about eighty-six per cent. of Americans still are members of families whose incomes are less than two thousand dollars a year, a sum which can be lived on by the average family of five only by the sacrifice of most of the amenities, and even some of the necessaries of life, which would be included in any standard of living calculated to produce conditions of ordinary health and welfare."[1]

One of the significant aspects of the increase in our national wealth and of the improvement in the material conditions of our working people is that the word

[1] *Industry's Coming of Age*, page 217.

"poverty," as well as the word "luxury," has become elastic and indefinite in its denotation. In the interest of clearness, therefore, it will be well to introduce some definitions of poverty and some estimates of its extent.

In the year 1904 Robert Hunter published a volume called *Poverty* in which he used that term to describe the condition of those persons who are "unable to obtain those necessaries which will permit them to maintain a state of physical efficiency." This conception is sufficiently definite, even though it considers human beings solely as units of production. Using this standard, Mr. Hunter estimated that not less than ten million inhabitants of the country were in poverty; or about eight per cent. of the population at the time when he wrote. Inasmuch as he was a social worker whose activities had brought him in personal contact with large numbers of the poor and inasmuch as he was a believer in socialism, his judgment concerning the extent of poverty was not universally accepted.

In the year 1914 Professor Jacob H. Hollander of Johns Hopkins University expressed agreement with Hunter's estimate, but gave a somewhat less precise definition of poverty. He referred to it as the condition of those who have "less than enough food, clothing and shelter." This was in a little book entitled *The Abolition of Poverty*. Two years after its appearance Professor Maurice Parmalee, in a large volume, *Poverty and Social Progress*, likewise accepted Hunter's minimum estimate of the extent of poverty and declared that it was probably too low. He found reasons for thinking that from five to ten per cent. of the population were during some period of any year "receiving charitable aid." However, his definition of poverty is more comprehensive than Hunter's. In order to be above the poverty line, a person must possess those goods which are "necessary for a decent and wholesome life and for maintaining the highest physical and mental efficiency."

In the year 1921 Professor John L. Gillin published *Poverty and Destitution*, an octavo volume of more than seven hundred pages. He expressed the opinion that Hunter and Parmalee had exaggerated the number of Americans in poverty and submitted a definition of his own. That man is poor, he said, who does not possess " enough to provide for the physical and mental efficiency of himself and to enable his natural dependents to function usefully according to the standards of his group in society." In the year 1929 Robert Kelso, a social worker of long experience, published a volume called *Poverty*. Although he made no attempt to state the number of persons in that condition, he declared that it had " widespread prevalence " even in the United States. His very long definition may be summarized as follows: Poverty is the condition of a man who has not sufficient means to " ensure continuous bodily and mental fitness to carry on permanently in his occupation and locality, and enable himself and dependents to live and function in their community with decency and self-respect." This definition is more comprehensive than those given by Hunter and Hollander, but seems to be about the same as those of Parmalee and Gillin. The most distinctive additional note is the specification of " decency and self-respect " as necessary attributes of those who are above the condition of poverty. Mr. Kelso clearly indicates that poverty should be regarded as the characteristic of those who are without means for mental, moral and religious improvement. Is this a correct or helpful way of looking at the situation? Does it not seem to confuse the concept of decent living with the concept of a sufficiency which is not, indeed, normal or humanly satisfactory, but which is above the condition ordinarily understood as that of poverty?

At any rate, we have to adopt some fairly precise definition of poverty if we are to discuss it intelligently. The formulation of the " Poverty Level " of family

living by Professor Paul H. Douglas in *Wages and the Family* (1925) provides a helpful starting point.

> On this standard, the family is not on a basis of permanent self-support, and exists because of inroads which it makes upon its own health or upon its supply of furniture and goods. The family's dietary is generally appreciably below the standard of 3,300 calories which are needed for an adult male at moderately heavy labour. The family is badly overcrowded and has no resources with which to meet any unexpected expense. While costs necessarily vary from city to city, it is probable that it would cost a family of five between $1,000 and $1,100 to live on this scale in the larger American cities at the present time. (p. 5).

Inasmuch as the cost of living in the United States is now almost exactly what it was when the foregoing paragraph was written, we shall take the figure which is midway between the two given by Professor Douglas as most nearly expressing the lowest limit of annual earnings which are sufficient to place a family above the poverty line. How many families are there, or how many persons are members of families whose annual incomes are less than $1050 a year?

Nothing like an exact answer can be given owing to the lack of exact data. The best that we can do is to submit estimates which reflect the facts with sufficient accuracy to provide really significant information. The *American Labor Year Book* for 1928 concludes that 7,250,000 male wage earners of the age of twenty years or over were in the latter part of the year 1927 receiving less than twenty-five dollars a week. That would be the equivalent of $1200 a year if the unemployment period were assumed to be only two weeks. Of course, the average is considerably higher than two weeks annually. Probably one-half at least of these seven and a quarter million males were married. If they averaged two dependent children each, the total number of persons living in families having family incomes of less than $1250 a year was 14,500,000. What proportion of the married males was in receipt of less than $1050 a year,

it is impossible to say. In all probability, however, we do not exaggerate if we put the number of Americans living in poverty, according to the definition given by Professor Douglas, at somewhere between ten and twelve million. This is a smaller proportion of the current population than was the ten million estimated as living in poverty by Robert Hunter in the year 1904. The proportion ought to be considerably smaller to-day, owing to the increase which in the meantime has taken place in the incomes of even the lowest paid laborers.

Speaking of the poorly paid wage-earners of America, in June 1927, Secretary of Labor James J. Davis, said :—

> If these underpaid workers were few in number and existed only in scattered instances, the inequality would be less great. But if we count them up, if we think of those in all our industries who may lack mechanical skill but who nevertheless shoulder the heavy weights and do the roughest work, we find a great part of American industry shot through with these unfortunates. It is not an exaggeration to say that we have some millions of these hard-worked but underpaid Americans. Taken together with their families and their dependents, I would venture to say we have among us from ten to fifteen millions of people who do not share as they should in the prosperity enjoyed by the rest of us. Morally, economically, and on the grounds of simple humanity this inequality should not be allowed to exist in this richest nation of history.

It should be noted that $1250 a year is considerably less than the amount necessary to maintain a man and wife and three small children on the "minimum health-and-decency level." In other words, it is considerably less than a living wage. According to Professor Douglas, the cost of providing such a livelihood in the larger American cities is from $1500 to $1800 per year. Moreover, it is to be observed that the 7,250,000 males of twenty years of age and over who are getting less than $1250 per year constitute more than one-third of the total number of male adult laborers. Hence, it is not improb-

able that one-half the adult male laborers in the United States are receiving less than a family living wage.

Despite this fact and despite the millions of Americans who are still living in poverty, the material condition of the laboring class has improved since the years before the Great War. The most recent figures and estimates on this subject are found in the chapter on " The National Income and Its Distribution " in the second volume of the work entitled *Recent Economic Changes in the United States.* These two volumes constitute the report of the Committee on Recent Economic Changes, which was appointed by Herbert Hoover and of which he was Chairman. The work was published in May 1929. In the chapter referred to above, it is stated that the average annual remuneration of wage-earners, as measured in purchasing power, was 19 per cent. higher in the year 1927 than it was in the year 1913, while the average remuneration of salaried employes increased fourteen per cent. during the same period. Moreover, the share of the national income received by employés seems to have increased slightly, while that of property owners as such underwent a decrease. In 1913 the " realized income " of wage-earners was thirty-seven per cent. of the national income; in 1925 it was thirty-eight per cent. In 1913 the " realized income " of salary receivers was fifteen per cent. of the national income; in 1925 it was eighteen per cent. The total share of all employés increased from fifty-three to fifty-seven per cent. during those twelve years. This estimate agrees fairly well with that of the Federal Trade Commission for the year 1923, which was fifty-five per cent. In 1913 the total " realized income " from rents and royalties, interest and dividends amounted to twenty-five per cent. of the national income; in 1925 it had declined to twenty-three per cent. During the same period, the profits withdrawn by entrepreneurs from business fell from twenty-two per cent. of the whole to twenty per cent.

These profits are, of course, a return for labor and risk rather than a return on property.

The diffusion of the shares of joint stock companies among the working classes in the United States has probably received more attention than it deserves. The relatively rapid increase in this sort of ownership since the Great War has occasionally been referred to as a "new industrial revolution." Undoubtedly the number of wage-earners who now own either the stocks or the bonds of business corporations is much greater than it was ten years ago, and undoubtedly many large business concerns have strongly encouraged this form of investment by their employés. Nevertheless, the Federal Trade Commission, in its report on "National Wealth and Income" published in 1926, found that while employés comprised 7·5 per cent. of the common-stock owners and 3·5 per cent. of the preferred-stock holders in the companies studied, they possessed "only 1·5 per cent. of the common stock and 2 per cent. of the preferred stock." A study of employé stock ownership made by a department of Princeton University showed that, although the employé stock holders of twenty large corporations comprised twenty-one per cent. of the whole number, their holdings represented only 4·3 per cent. of the market value of the stock. So far as we can see, a very long time will elapse before the employés of any large American corporation come to own and control a majority of its shares.

Despite pretty general increases in wages and despite a slight increase in the wage-earners' share of the national income, the contrasts between the very rich and the very poor, the extremes of wealth and poverty, are quite as great and as disturbing as they have ever been in American history. This statement is dramatically illustrated by the juxtaposition of palaces and of hovels in all of our great cities. It is more scientifically indicated in the estimate that fifty per cent. of the country's wealth

is owned by one per cent. of the population, sixty per cent. by two per cent. of the population, and ninety per cent. by thirteen per cent. of the population, and that the lower two-thirds of the population "receives virtually no income for owning, for they own virtually nothing." (Edie, *Economics: Principles and Problems*, pp. 446-447).

In the foregoing paragraphs no attempt has been made to describe American poverty in concrete terms of social and living conditions. Under this aspect the poorest classes do not differ greatly from country to country except in degree. Some are more miserable than others, but all are in misery as regards one or more of the essentials of humane and reasonable life. As we have given only one measure of poverty, namely, insufficient income, so we have neglected all other causes than the economic. To be sure, the other causes are as general and as effective in the United States as elsewhere, such as incompetency, vice and misfortune. Here, as in other countries, these factors make a considerable addition to the number of persons whose poverty is due primarily to economic conditions, and they make the poverty of the latter more intense. Nevertheless, the economic factor is the most powerful, the most conspicuous and the most easily measured. The definition of poverty quoted above from Professor Douglas's book is sufficiently precise and the estimate of the number of persons who do not receive enough wages to keep them above that kind of poverty is sufficiently accurate and striking to give the average reader a suggestive, if not a complete, picture of the amount of poverty in the United States. In all probability the majority of those who read these pages will be surprised to learn that American poverty is so extensive.

And yet the greater part of it is unnecessary and indefensible. If our economic system were organized rationally and functioning rationally, no person nor

any family in the United States would be compelled to live in poverty on account of lack of income. The vast increase in the productive power of our industries and workers in the last eight years has become one of the commonplaces of our economic literature. No competent authority doubts that we have sufficient natural resources and sufficient productive equipment to provide every man, woman and child in America with means sufficient not only to maintain themselves above the poverty line, but to provide them with the conditions of decent, humane and reasonable life. Nor is this all. Our industries could produce a surplus which would enable a considerable proportion of the population to possess abundant comforts and luxuries and the means and opportunities of higher and more genuine culture than has ever existed since man first appeared on the earth.

As these lines are being written, President Hoover is engaged in several conferences with the masters of industry and the heads of governmental departments in order to explore and, if possible, find the means of preventing an apparently imminent industrial depression or recession. Should these efforts fail, the number of Americans in poverty would for a time be considerably increased and enormous hardships would fall upon other hundreds of thousands. Once again we are threatened with the anomalous contrast of multitudes seeking to produce goods needed by themselves and others, of mechanical equipment that is more than adequate to this end, yet of multitudes in want because the men and the machines cannot be put to work. This predicament constitutes a very severe indictment of the economic intelligence of the richest and most resourceful people of the world.

The cause of the threatened slowing down of our industries is to be found in our excessive capacity for production. Our plants and workers are able to turn out more goods than we can sell. This is true not merely

of one or a few, but of all our major industries, from agriculture to automobiles. The process of supplanting men by machines has been so greatly accelerated in the last eight years that a very large number of workers has been constantly disemployed for longer or shorter periods of time and a large proportion of our productive equipment is continuously unused. Mechanical improvements have abolished tasks that were ten years ago performed by upwards of three million human beings, while several of our great industries can produce all the goods that are demanded if they operate steadily for eight to ten months per year. Sooner or later, this excessive potency is converted into excessive actuality, so that superfluous stocks of goods are accumulated with the necessary consequence of diminished production and diminished employment.

Along with the enormous increase in productive power during the last eight years, there has taken place an important change in the attitude of American business men. Were it sufficiently developed and courageously acted upon, it would go far toward providing a remedy for the evils that have just been sketched. It is thus described in the report on "Recent Economic Changes": "The recognition of the principle of high wages and low costs as a policy of enlightened industrial practice in a period of stationary cost of living—the recognition of wage-earners as the great domestic market." Twenty-five years ago both these propositions were ignored or denied by almost all employers in the United States. With a few exceptions, business men held that production and sales could be increased only through diminution of productive costs and selling prices. The purchasing power of the wage-earning class was either assumed or ignored. To-day the most enlightened directors of industry realize that the buying power of the wage-earners is a very important part of the consuming power of the whole population and that it automatically

increases with increases of wages. These men have become aware that the well-to-do classes are already buying all that they care to buy and that if new sources of demand are to be found they must be sought in the desires of the class that would like to purchase more if only it had the requisite power. The power to consume and the desire to consume must be combined in a much larger proportion of the population than now exemplify that condition if our industries are to be kept going with a fair degree of steadiness and security. If this condition is to be realized, the new attitude of American business men, which is described in the quotation embodied in this paragraph, will have to become more extensive, more positive and more courageous. They will have to realize that wages in general must go still higher than they have gone, and in the case of the underpaid, a great deal higher.

Even if all our workers were receiving living wages, the productive capacity of our industries might still be so great that all the goods could not be sold nor all our labor continuously employed. We could cross that bridge when we came to it. Nevertheless, the manner of crossing is obvious. It is by way of a shorter work-day or a shorter work-week. One of the most baneful assumptions of our materialistic industrial society is that all men should spend at least one-third of the twenty-four hour day in some productive occupation. If all their efforts are not needed to turn out the necessaries and reasonable comforts of life, they should be utilized in the production of luxuries. If men still have leisure, new luxuries must be invented to keep them busy and new wants must be stimulated in the consumers to take the luxuries off the market and keep the industries going. Of course, the true and rational doctrine is that when men have produced sufficient necessaries and reasonable comforts and conveniences to supply all the population, they should spend what time is left in the cultivation

of their intellects and wills, in the pursuit of the higher life. If American industries can make the requisite leisure possible, they will have provided at least the opportunity for a more rational society than any people has yet enjoyed. Moreover, a shorter work-day or work-week would reinforce the movement for higher wages and more general employment; for it would require more workers to produce the same amount of goods and thus make labor scarcer and dearer. Indeed, this is perhaps the most practical method available for increasing the remuneration and the consuming power of the masses, short of minimum wage legislation.

The argument in the paragraphs immediately preceding refers only to my own country. I shall never forget the wistful tones in which a representative from Japan at the Institute of Pacific Relations in Honolulu in the summer of 1927 addressed the American delegation: "You are an economic world in yourselves. The prosperity of your industries does not depend upon the contingencies of international trade." This is the simple truth. Nine-tenths of the products of our industries are consumed at home. Therefore, we can make any changes that seem good to us in our industrial system, regardless of the industrial policies or performances of other nations. Neither Japan, nor Great Britain, nor France, nor Germany, nor any other great industrial country is in a position to exercise this choice or this power. With regard to their principal industries all these countries have, like the United States, the capacity to produce more goods than they can sell and, therefore, are unable to keep all their workers employed. But these inabilities come not merely from lack of purchasing power in their own people, but also from the inability to find foreign markets. They cannot make sufficient sales in foreign countries because too many of them are trying to sell the same kind of goods. If Japan could keep all her textile mills operating, her people would be much better

off. She cannot do so, because her mills must compete with those of China, England, the United States and even India.

For these countries there are apparently only three possible means of escape from the predicament of excessive productive capacity and serious unemployment. They might establish new industries or develop their less important industries so that they would be less dependent upon foreign markets for the products of their main industries. Or they might consign to an international economic committee the power of allotting particular industries to the countries that could carry these on to best advantage. Or they might bring about a redistribution of population so that, for example, the surplus textile operatives in Japan might find employment at some other kind of work in some other country. Obviously, the last mentioned remedy is purely theoretical, while the second is scarcely less so. The United States is not interested in either of these devices, and it is in a position to utilize the first to whatever extent might become necessary.

JOHN A. RYAN.

PRACTICAL SOCIALISTS AT WORK IN VIENNA

BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J., M.A.

SO far as one can judge from recent publications on Socialism in Ireland and England, there appears to be a certain vagueness and uncertainty about the actual power, aims, methods and achievements of the socialist parties in the various European countries. " Socialism " has been and still is so often slain in articles, pamphlets and books, its fallacies, absurdities and impossibilities so often dexterously exposed or refuted, that even the serious student of social questions has allowed himself to be lulled into a state of false security. " Socialism," a well-known Catholic sociologist wrote recently in this review, " as a practical system does not exist, and as a doctrinal system it is in a state of collapse. There is no sign of Socialism coming to put a term to our social struggles." [1] Meanwhile in at least five countries of Europe the intelligent socialist leaders are content to fall back on a " Eppure si muove," while they continue to win the confidence, and often the self-sacrificing devotion, of an ever-increasing number of plain people from every condition of life. " Socialism as a practical system " may not, perhaps, exist ; but socialists certainly do exist, and in very considerable numbers. Moreover, speaking generally of the leaders, they are men and women of high and serious purpose, well-educated and thoughtful, capable administrators and politicians. Above all, they are fired with that enthusiasm and love for their cause which have never yet failed to enable the movement that possessed them to affect profoundly the course of history. " Socialism," whether it is " coming to put a term to our social struggles " or not, is certainly coming, or rather has come, to play a very big part in shaping the destiny of the next fifty years.

Instead of tilting at the numerous academic wind-

[1] *Studies*, Sept. 1927, p. 435.

mills that Marx, Gorter, Dietzgen and others have left as their memorials, it would be much more practical and useful for Catholics to follow the example of the man who most vividly realised what modern socialists would do as soon as they got any power in a country. Mussolini did not bother about the theoretical refutation of those doctrines which he had so long upheld. He set himself out to do by non-socialist methods what he knew should be done, and what a short time before, as a practical socialist, he had fully intended to do by socialist methods. The innumerable so-called problems of the capitalist system, the hardships, the inequalities, the injustices which cause so much of the bodily and mental suffering in the world, demanded a solution—an immediate solution. Both socialists and conservatives were equally able to supply the solution; but both were not equally willing. It is the unwillingness of the conservative element to remedy pressing evils that gives the socialist movement its driving force: Marxian theories will never cause a street riot, nor will their refutation stop one. Consequently a study of the methods employed by socialists in the various countries where they have some administrative power seems to be the most valuable line of approach for a Catholic sociologist to take. Theories are all very well in their own place; even political programmes, strategy, tactics may be profitably studied; but the really important factor that catches the imagination of the masses and wins their hearts, is the concrete social reforms, "the hanging of a duck on every worker's roasting-spit," which socialist administrators have tried to bring about.

A very small acquaintance with the actual work of Continental socialists will convince anyone of four facts. The first is that socialists are just as little opportunists as they are doctrinaires. They do not allow any preconceived theories—economic, political or social—to stand in the way of practical reform. Nor do they merely seize

on a suitable occasion to put through some social improvement purely for its propaganda value. The great working principle that guides them is to use whatever means seem best to bring more happiness into the lives of men. That circumstances in any particular place or time prevent them from using what their prophets held were the surest and best means does not stop them from employing whatever second-best means lie ready to hand. To socialists happiness on this earth is the end for which man was made, and their philosophy is built upon that idea and their practice inspired and guided by it.

The second fact that comes home to one after a survey of socialist reform work is that a very large proportion of the concrete results are just the very things which Catholic social workers are striving to achieve. Good housing conditions, pure food, facilities for recreation and improvement, child-welfare work, public parks, baths and playgrounds, cheap transport, insurance schemes, all these and many others are pointed out with pride by socialists as the result of their activity. There is nothing distinctively un-Catholic in any of these reforms. One hears very little about equality of income, socialisation of the means of production, and the rest of the usual jargon of socialist and anti-socialist literature. What one does hear is chiefly concerned with libraries, crèches, kindergarten-schools, steam-laundries for the use of workers' wives, modern maternity hospitals, sanatoria for every species of children's diseases, and similar things. Behind all this, it is true, one can see, if one knows where and what to look for, the inevitable traces of the materialistic, antichristian philosophy which consciously or unconsciously influences the socialist in all his work. But the fact remains that " the duck on the roasting-spit " is substantially the same duck that Catholics want to hang there.

The third fact is that socialists have thoroughly realised that the way to win the confidence and active support of

a large proportion of the people of a given administrative unit is to remedy the most glaring social evils quickly, spectacularly and, in a certain sense, drastically. Here lies the secret of the influence and trust which socialists of one type or another have won for themselves all over Europe. They have made concrete promises and have thereby given the workers or the workless something concrete to hope for. Then at the first opportunity, they have, by hook or by crook, redeemed some proportion of their promises in a concrete and striking way—an earnest or proof of their sincerity and trust-worthiness.

The fourth fact is a firm conviction among socialists that the Catholic Church does not want the present social " problems " remedied, either because her dogmas stand in the way or because her interests are better secured under a system which permits of these " problems". Again and again socialists will point out that when Catholic or Christian parties were in power the evils of the capitalist system were never seriously and drastically attacked. Added to this, of course, is the fact that a large number of socialist leaders are atheists, materialists, or rationalists from what they call " conviction". Naturally such men use whatever opportunities come their way to make converts to their own irreligious views,or at least will never allow religious considerations of others to stand in the way of what they believe to be good and necessary reforms.

If we desire a concrete illustration of these four facts, we have only to turn to the history of that particular form of " Socialism " which has come to be known as Austro-marxism.[1] Indeed nowhere can Socialism be more

[1] There are, at least, five distinct forms of practical " Socialism " in Europe to-day. On the extreme left is Russian Bolshevism, on the extreme right the English Labour Party. Next to Bolshevism comes Austro-marxism, as extreme in its aims, but more cautious and less bloody in its methods. Next to the English Labour Party comes German Social Democracy, while French Radicalism comes somewhere in the middle. But for Mussolini, Italy would probably have been competing with Austro-marxism for a place beside Moscow.

favourably studied than in " Red " Vienna to-day: for to all intents and purposes it has had there nearly as free a hand as in Russia itself, while at the same time it has not been handicapped by the many abnormal circumstances which have impeded the Russian Bolshevists. In Vienna nearly everything contributed to produce an ideal condition for an experiment in socialism —able men, a manageable territorial unit, considerable freedom of action, little serious opposition, a critical situation to be saved, and a certain financial support. The Austro-marxists are willing enough to admit that circumstances to some extent told in their favour, but they are not slow to point out that the results of their ten years government of Vienna constitute one of the most remarkable achievements in municipal administration of recent times.

After the war Vienna[1] became one of the nine semi-independent states that form the Federal Republic of Austria. It is governed by a Burgomeister assisted by a Cabinet of twelve ministers, eight of whom hold administrative portfolios, the other four having only a consultative voice. This government is responsible to a Municipal Parliament elected by proportional representation. For the last ten or eleven years the Austro-marxists have always held something like two-thirds of the seats in this parliament, and consequently have always formed the government. In the last elections, April 1927, 92 per cent. of the electors voted—60 per cent. of the votes being for the Austro-marxists, 40 per cent. for the two or three other parties. Under the federal Constitution Vienna, being at once the federal capital, a municipality and a " state," was guaranteed an exceptionally privileged position in regard to fiscal matters and administrative independence. In estimating the work of the Austro-marxists during the last ten years in Vienna two considerations must be borne in mind. The first

[1] Vienna has a population of 1,850,000.

is that they took over a city which had already come under the vigorous and beneficent rule of Karl Lueger.[1] They found, therefore, not only a great deal of the spade work of municipal reform done for them, but also a very great number of public utility services and social welfare works in actual existence. Despite all their achievements, the Austro-marxists have not surpassed Lueger's work: Vienna to-day is substantially the result of his energy, ability and foresight. The Austro-marxists have willy-nilly been forced to follow along the lines which Lueger had laid down. But secondly it must be borne in mind that the Austro-marxists took over Vienna in a time of difficulty and disaster. The capital of a defeated and splintered empire, a starving, war-weary population, a nearly worthless currency, a disorganised economic life, industry and commerce at a standstill, that was the situation that they had to meet.

The first and most pressing problem to be faced by the new Burgomeister and his Cabinet in 1919 was the question of finance. A man with a touch of genius in his own line was found in Herr Hugo Breitner, who became the municipal Finance Minister. The Austro-marxists owe it to him that they have been able to make such a spectacular display of their readiness and ability to better the lot of the poor. Breitner was faced with a practically empty treasury and an impoverished city, but he set about his task with a courage and ingenuity that must excite wonder, even if conservative economists shake their heads and capitalists curse him and foretell the ruin of everything. In 1928, ten years after the war and the beginning of the Austro-marxists rule, the revenue of the Viennese Municipality amounted to approximately £13,000,000. Of this sum £5,000,000 came from the taxes imposed by the Municipal Government and £3,300,000 from Vienna's share of the federal taxes collected within its territory. These two sums are equivalent to a tax of

[1] For an account of Lueger and his work see *Studies*, Sept., 1914 and June, 1915

£4 13*s.* 4*d.* per head of population; in 1913 the same two taxes were equivalent to £4 5*s.* 0*d.* per head. In the five years 1923-1927, £15,000,000 was spent on technical improvements in various departments of municipal activity, street-cleaning, collection of refuse, etc. The actual commercial enterprises of the Municipality were not financed out of the above £15,000,000, but the necessary improvements in these were carried out by means of a 6 per cent. loan of £6,000,000 issued (1927) in America at 90½. These enterprises—gas-works, trams, brewery and some others—all pay their own way, so that interest and sinking-fund for this loan does not come out of the taxes. The municipal debt was to a great extent cleared off during the inflation period; with the federal contribution to its service, it now costs the tax-payer less than £23,000 per annum.

One of the leading ideas of Herr Breitner, during his earlier years of office, seems to have been to keep clear of loans and to finance the reform schemes as much as possible out of income. As already mentioned, the total income of the Municipality for 1928 was about £13,000,000. A very short sketch of some of the chief taxes which the Austro-marxists imposed to obtain sufficient money for their social works is all that can be attempted here, but it will be sufficient to give some idea of their mentality in this respect. It was natural that an Entertainment Tax should be introduced during a time of severe hardship for the poorer classes in Vienna. It brings in a yearly sum of £500,000. One or two details are interesting: operatic performances are taxed with 5 per cent., while horse-racing, boxing and wrestling must pay 33⅓ per cent.—a form of socialism which remembers that it is Viennese and thinks with piety on the Musicians' Corner in the beautiful Zentralfriedhof. Dances are bracketed with circuses—a subtle touch of scorn for the bourgeoisie—and pay 23 per cent.; cinemas and ballets approach nearer to the horse-racing standard and

contribute 28½ per cent. Defaulters are not handled tenderly; they pay 15 times the sum in question and spend four weeks in gaol. The Restaurant Tax, paid by the "luxury" restaurants (about ⅓ of all in Vienna), is graded according to the degree of luxury offered, measured by anyone or all of three criteria: the class of customers, the appointments, the degree of comfort. The highest tax, 15 per cent. of the bill, is paid by night-clubs. The total yield of the Restaurant Tax amounts to £400,000. The Servant Tax is, perhaps, the most amazing and questionable form imposed. Where two or more domestic servants are employed, £1 10*s.* 0*d.* per annum is paid for the second, and for every additional one £7 10*s.* 0*d.* plus the amount paid for the immediately preceding one—*i.e.*, for the third, £7 10*s.* 0*d.* plus £1 10*s.* 0*d.* (£9), for the fourth £7 10*s.* 0*d.* plus £9 (£16 10*s.* 0*d.*), and so on. Men-servants must always be counted last and then paid for at double the above rates. About 7,000 households are liable, and the Austro-marxists themselves boast that Rothschild paid nearly £10,000 a year for his staff, while Castiglioni, the other big banker, paid something like £1,000.

Two extremely interesting taxes, much discussed by moralists and economists, are the Increment Value Tax and the Dwelling House Tax. The former is a tax on the conveyance of land payable by the vendor or, in default of him, by the purchaser. The "increment" is the difference between the original price paid for the land and the price it is now sold for—January 1, 1903 being the extreme limit backwards. Of this "increment" 6 per cent. is paid as tax if the previous sale or purchase was made before 1920, 15 per cent. if made between Jan. 1920 and Sept. 1922, and 25 per cent. if after Sept. 1922. One can well imagine Herr Breitner, like Warren Hastings, "standing astonished at his own moderation." The Dwelling House Tax was introduced for the specific purpose of providing funds for the colossal housing schemes which the Austro-marxists regard as their crown-

ing glory. It brings in an annual sum of nearly £1,000,000, about ⅓ of the annual expenditure of the Municipality on new houses in each of the five years 1923-1927. The tax is paid by everybody who occupies or uses a room in a dwelling-house or business-premises. It is calculated on the pre-war rent of the houses, and so scaled as to fall most heavily on luxurious dwellings. It is claimed that 3,500 houses, that is 5 per cent. of the total number, pay 45 per cent. of the total yield of the tax, while 520,000 houses of the poorer classes, that is 82 per cent. of the total, only pay 22 per cent. of the yield. Enough has been said on Herr Breitner's finance to show that in this department the Austro-marxist "reforms" have been quick, spectacular, and drastic.

The application of the money obtained by these taxes constitutes the history of the Austro-marxists' rule. As in every country, so in Austria and especially in Vienna one of the effects of the war was an acute housing-problem The house-famine necessitated a Rent Restrictions Act, which in turn held up private commercial building and reduced ground values. In 1917 out of the 554,000 families in Vienna, 406,000 (*i.e.*, 73 per cent.) lived in single rooms, or at best in one large and one small room. The normal rent which a worker had to pay for such accommodation amounted, on an average, to 1-5th of his income. The inevitable result was the sub-letting of the inadequate space already possessed, with consequent over-crowding, ill-health, immorality. Meanwhile, owing to the existing system of municipal taxation, from one-half to two-thirds of the tax-income of the city came from taxes on houses. The Austro-marxists made it one of their first tasks to remedy this matter. In the first 3 or 4 years of their government they supplied 4,700 new flats or dwellings : something, indeed much, considering the circumstances, but still almost ridiculously inadequate. Consequently they resolved, after their usual fashion, on a course of action at once drastic and specta-

cular. The now famous or infamous Dwelling House Tax was imposed to secure the necessary funds to finance a gigantic housing scheme out of income. A loan involves 5 per cent. interest at least; probably a loan to the Austro-marxists, for the purpose of housing and at that time, could not have been negotiated. But even if it could, a flat or house costing £1,000 would be burdened straight away with an annual charge of £50. This charge must be avoided. Hence if the possessing classes would not lend their needy fellow-creatures money to build themselves houses without charging a relatively impossible interest, then the Austro-marxists would take care that whoever lived in luxury or even frugal comfort in good houses would compulsorily contribute so much that no loan would be needed.[1]

Herr Breitner supplied the money, and Herr Anton Weber began very rapidly to supply the houses according to a programme that called for 25,000 flats or " dwellings " fit for workers' families to live in. A couple of years later the programme was extended to 64,000 " dwellings." The ground was bought by the Municipality at very favourable terms owing chiefly to skilful management at the inflation period, and to the effect of the Rent Restriction Act in depressing the value of building-sites. For £800,000 an area of roughly 4,100 acres in some of the best parts of Vienna was acquired, so that to-day the Municipality owns more than 1-4th of the total building-site area of the city. There is, accordingly, no ground-rent to pay, no interest, no sinking-fund, while the up-

[1] It is impossible here to go into the economics or morals of the Dwelling House Tax in Vienna. It may be mentioned, however, that the whole nature of the " Gewinnwirtschaft " (of which interest on loans is the characteristic) is being vigorously attacked by the " New Vienna School " of Catholic economists, of whom one of the chief figures is Dr. Karl Lugmayer, founder and editor of *Neue Ordnung*. Hardly a single German or Austrian Catholic economist or moralist of note has resisted the temptation to join in the battle over the right to and rights of private property, interest, etc., which has been going on now steadily for five or six years. Catherein, Biederlack, Vermeersch, Nell-Breuning, Dr. Schmitt of Innsbruck and a host of others have broken many lances in this most fascinating tourney.

keep and repairs can be provided for on such a large scale that the share of this item falling on each " dwelling " is kept very low. The type of house erected was deliberately and carefully chosen for many good and bad reasons : and it is attacked by Catholics and defended by socialists with energy. From the outside one of these new houses looks like a huge though not unpleasing barracks ; it is often brightly coloured, with its long walls skilfully broken by arches and bay-windows and by other architectural adornments. There is certainly nothing repelling in these houses at first sight ; indeed the first impression is one of pleasure, curiosity, wonder. They are built sometimes round a central quadrangle, which contains a garden or lawn well-kept and clean, often a swimming pool for children decorated with colossal statues of hippotami, alligators, etc. Sometimes the shape of the building is that of an L or E or T ; but always, and on a deliberate principle, as nearly 50 per cent. of the total site as possible must be left free for gardens, lawns, playgrounds and the like. This open space is shut off, as a rule, from the street or public view, and is at the disposal of the inhabitants of the block—often 300 families. The Municipality keeps these spaces trim, renews frequently the water in the bathing or paddling pools, and in winter allows it to freeze and to be used as a rink.

The inside of the huge blocks—one, the largest, houses a thousand families—does not destroy the first good impressions of the outside. It is true that the " dwellings" or miniature flats seem a little on the small side, a feature to be explained in a moment ; but all of them are lightsome and airy. The actual official figures divide the 33,000 flats so far completed into the following categories. The first includes those which consist of a total area of 215 square feet meant chiefly for an unmarried man or woman : 22 sq. ft. is devoted to the entrance hall, 10 sq. ft. to lavatory, and 183 to a single living room. There are some 4,500 of this type—14 per cent. of the total yet

built. The next category is of flats embracing a total area of 430 sq. ft.: entrance-hall 22 sq. ft., lavatory 10 sq. ft., kitchen about 96 sq. ft., living-room 194 sq. ft., and a second smaller room of 108 sq. ft. Of this type there are over 18,000—about 55 per cent. of the total. The next type is that with an area of 516 sq. ft., containing a slightly smaller kitchen, but two extra rooms of 108 sq. ft., as well as the living-room. At least 8,000 of these exist—25 per cent. of the total. Finally, there is the largest type, 603 sq. ft. in area, containing two living-rooms of 194 sq. ft. each and a smaller room of 108 sq. ft. Every flat, it will be noticed, is secured its complete privacy by having a distinct entrance-hall of its own. Moreover every group of four-flats on each story has its own staircase. The kitchens are well fitted-up, all have gas-cookers (the Municipality has a monopoly in gas), flowing-water, sinks, etc.; and both they and the lavatories are tiled and fitted with water-proof plaster wherever necessary.

In order to compensate for the undoubted smallness of the actual flats a number of common accessory rooms have been added to most of the blocks—a feature which also serves to give a socialistic touch to the whole. Most of the blocks have a set of shower and reclining baths at the disposal of the tenants according to the definite house-plan. Where more than 300 flats are in a block, a steam laundry, fitted with up-to-date machinery for washing, ironing, drying, etc. has been included in the plan, so that a housewife has no need to fill her kitchen with the steam of soap-suds or hang garments on poles out of the windows. Her whole week's laundry-work can be finished in a few hours. The smaller blocks have also their wash-houses, but not so elaborately fitted-up. A practical point, worth mentioning small as it is, is the provision of a special large room on the ground floor near the entrance where "Corporation-bins" can be stored, so that the air of the flats is kept free from the

odour of decaying vegetable matter, etc. These "corporation-bins" are of a special patent dust-smothering type—but the whole system of street-cleansing and rubbish removal in Vienna deserves a separate article. In many of the buildings a kindergarten is run on the usual lines, the "family" type being the most favoured. Here a mother can leave her children from 7 a.m. till 7 p.m., if she wishes. The children are looked after by a fully trained kindergarten teacher, assisted by pupils from the Normal School, who must go through a certain amount of practical experience before they get their diploma. There are also, at times, crèches and ordinary play-rooms for the children, and naturally in the summer they have the enclosed open-spaces with ponds, sandpits, etc., mentioned above as being attached to each block. In several of the blocks there are public libraries, which experts have declared to be exceptionally well run. Here books can be borrowed or read in quiet. The librarians will take an interest in the various members of the families and help them in selecting books. Where the numbers at all justify it, there is a suite of rooms set apart for the visiting doctor, nurses, and health-visitors. Here medical advice is given to mothers, children are examined, and diseases (especially tuberculosis) are discovered early in their career. There are halls for social gatherings or debating clubs. Finally, one often notices that the whole ground-floor of one wing has been rented by some Co-operative Consumers' Society, so that people can buy everything on the most favourable terms and without leaving their house.

There is, therefore, something to balance the diminutive nature of the flats in these communal subsidiary departments. There is, also, something to be said against them: they can tend to break up and socialise family-life; propaganda advice can be given in libraries; birth-control can be suggested in the medical consulting rooms. At the moment, all that is being attempted here is an

objective account of what has been done. The rents for these flats are reckoned at so many pence per square metre. The rent charged for the largest type, 603 sq. ft. is about 9 Austrian schillings per month, to which the Dwelling House Tax must be added, about another 3 schillings—a total of, say, 12 Austrian schillings per month. In English money this works out at 7*s.* 6*d.* or less per month, something well under 2*s.* a week. The smaller flats pay a proportionally smaller rent and tax. The tenants must follow certain fairly strict but necessary regulations, in order that some kind of common order be kept. Thus the question of driving nails into the walls, of injuring the floors (oak, by the way, in great part), gas-cookers, water-fittings, etc., are all provided for. A tenant must leave the flat in as good repair, as clean and well-painted as when he took possession. But most of these items are found in every agreement between tenant and landlord. At first, the old style of furniture—cumbersome, heavy and big—proved a difficulty, where room-space was precious. But now a special type of furniture has been produced to meet the needs of the flats, quite as comfortable and ornamental as the old type.

The whole management of the Housing Schemes is entrusted to a special department or "ministry" of the Municipal Cabinet, the Minister being, for some years now, Herr Anton Weber. This department has, of course, its own architects, but many of the best private architects in Vienna were asked to co-operate. The sculptures, either on the buildings or in the gardens, the fountains, etc., are the work of well-known artists, and in the main are extremely pleasing, in many cases charmingly tasteful. As building materials are bought on a huge scale, and long contracts of work can be given, the cost of production is kept relatively very low. If the workmanship put into the houses has been honest and sound, if the materials supplied have been of proper

quality, then the Austro-marxists have accomplished a very notable work. Their opponents, however, maintain that the houses " will fall to pieces in ten years " ; that they are " ugly and unhealthy " ; that " the rooms are too small and two low " ($8\frac{1}{2}$ feet is the average height) ; that they were " planned deliberately to make the workers discontented," to destroy family life, to introduce communistic habits, to force the men to spend their free time in political clubs ; that they were " built with stolen money," expropriated by the Dwelling House Tax ; that they are a " speculation with the tax-payers' money out of which a certain amount has gone into wrong pockets " ; that they are " red army " barracks placed (as many, indeed, are) at the strategic points of the city ; and numerous similar accusations. A foreigner cannot form any valuable opinion on these matters in a short time, and therefore no comment is offered here. It is obvious that being the landlords of some 33,000 or more families gives the Austro-marxists great political influence. It is also obvious that the sudden transfer of the vast amount of capital[1] involved from private possession and liquid form to public ownership and fixed form cannot be without its effect on the economic life of the city. But all these are matters about which it is too soon to be able to form an opinion, even if all the necessary information was at hand. The aim of this article is only to give some idea of the outward appearance of one of the ducks that the Austro-marxists claim they have hung on the workers' roasting-spits. Whether the duck itself was poached, or whether its flesh is not very tasty or even poisoned—these are questions, important indeed, but outside the scope of the present study. They, and some other of the " reforms " of Red Vienna, will be dealt with more fully in a later article.

E. J. Coyne.

[1] In the five years, 1923-1927, £11,250,000 was spent on these houses ; probably by now, £15,000,000.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND ITS FOUNDRESS[1]

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

"THE faith of man," says Mr. Dakin in his full and candid biography of Mary Baker Eddy, "is itself the greatest miracle of all the miracles which faith engenders." Perhaps no sentence could more aptly summarise the impression left by a conscientious study of the life of the foundress of Christian Science. How was it that people ever came to believe in her? That is the problem which supremely puzzles the inquirer who has made even a slight acquaintance with her career and her writings. Stripped of the aureola with which she has been invested by her official biographer, she stands revealed as a bundle of affectations and shams—a woman who in all her statements about herself was untrustworthy to a degree almost without modern parallel. Hysterical from her earliest youth, she developed in later life an aggravated type of megalomania, and no vestige of a sense of humour intervened to save her from the betrayal of this all-pervading foible. In small matters as in great she was always vainglorious. What Mr. Dakin calls "her inveterate delight in advertising aristocratic connections" went to extravagant lengths. She wrote to her son in 1898 :—

It is duly estimated by business characters and learned scholars that I lead and am obeyed by 300,000 people at this date. [Records

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Mrs. Eddy. The Biography of a Virginal Mind. By Edwin Franden Dakin. (Scribner. 1929. 20s.).

Our New Religion. By the Rt. Hon. H. A. Fisher, F.R.S. (Benn. 1929. 6s.).

Three Women : St. Teresa, Mme. de Choiseul, Mrs. Eddy. By H. E. Wortham. (Cassell. 1929. 10s. 6d.).

The Faith, the Falsity and the Failure of Christian Science. By Woodbridge Riley, F. W. Peabody and C. E. Humiston. (Fleming H. Revell. 1927. $3.50).

Memoirs of Mary Baker Eddy. By Adam Dickey. (Robert G. Carter, 29 Hogarth Road, London, S.W. 5. 1927. Withdrawn from circulation).

The Quimby Manuscripts. Edited by Horatio W. Dresser. (T. V. Crowell. 1921). The first edition alone contains the text and facsimiles of Mrs. Eddy's letters.

show that the church-membership of Christian Science was then under 15,000.] The most distinguished newspapers ask me to write on the most important subjects. Lords and ladies, earls, princes and marquises and marchionesses from abroad write to me in the most complimentary manner. Hoke Smith declares that I am the most illustrious woman on the continent—those are his exact words. Our senators and members of Congress call on me for counsel. I am not made the least proud by it or a particle happier for it. I am working for a higher purpose.[1]

Scores of similar examples of the manner in which Mrs. Eddy magnified all that pertained to her, from the military rank of Colonel which she conferred upon her first husband, to the entirely fanciful dimensions which she invented for the house at Bow in which she was born,[2] may be culled from Mr. Dakin's pages. One of her most ludicrous conceits was the appropriation of the armorial bearings of General Sir John McNeil, K.C.B., with whom she unwarrantably claimed kinship. From 1903 down to her death in 1910, these arms—not the mere crest, but the whole shield—decorated magnificently the note-paper upon which she and all her personal staff wrote or typed their letters. She included with the shield the encircling motto of the Order of the Bath, a distinction purely personal to Sir John himself; but the American draughtsman misread the well-known legend, and the general level of scholarship prevalent at the Christian Science headquarters may be gauged by the fact that the motto was engraved in this form—*Tria juncta ie umo*. During all these seven years nobody seems to have noticed that anything was wrong,[3] for certainly Mrs. Eddy would

[1] Dakin, p. 324. She also wrote to the Concord *Monitor* that "London lords and ladies were thronging to learn Christian Science teachings." *Ib.* p. 322.

[2] Her cousin gave an amusing account of her visit to her birthplace. "She insisted," he said, "that the old house as it now stands was reduced in size. . . . . So she drew an imaginary sketch continuing the roof and adding wings or extensions." Moreover she took an artist down with her to give permanent effect to this improved presentation of the facts. *Ib.* pp. 322-323.

[3] I speak confidently, for Mrs. Stetson in her curious volume *Sermons*, etc. (1924) reproduces in photographic facsimile more than a score of Mrs. Eddy's letters, which cover the whole period. The *Tria juncta ie umo* remained unaltered to the last.

not have tolerated the continuance of such a humiliating blunder for five minutes if she had known of its existence.

One would hesitate to notice matters so trivial, if the foundress had shown any readiness to admit that her early education was defective. But it was her pose always to claim superior culture. She let it be understood that in youth she had "mastered" the Latin, Greek and Hebrew grammars[1] together with natural philosophy, moral science, and "mathematics," the term by which she glorified the four rules of simple arithmetic.[2] She delighted in long words and scraps of pretentious erudition. Like Molière's physician, it was enough for her to be satisfied that those she addressed did not understand Latin, in order to pour out a stream of technicalities in that language which she seems to have learnt principally from the labels of her homœopathic medicine-chest. If she has occasion to talk of salt, it appears in her pages as *natrum muriaticum*,[3] and, through some hundreds of editions of *Science and Health*, readers were told how, before the discovery of Christian Science, Mrs. Eddy in a case of dropsy "prescribed the fourth attenuation of *Argenitum nitricum* with occasional doses of a high attenuation of *Sulphuris*" (p. 156). *Argenitum nitricum* stands for nitrate of silver, but in spite of her endless meticulous revisions of the priceless textbook it was only in the final edition of 1907 that the learned author discovered that the Latin for silver was not *argenitum* but *argentum*.

No doubt all this will seem puerile enough, but it gives an idea of the woman's mind. For anyone who

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[1] See Sibyl Wilbur's official *Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p. 27, and *cf. Retrospection and Introspection*.

[2] See *e.g. Science and Health*, p. 219, p. 113, etc.

[3] In *Miscellaneous Writings* we read: "I repeat that I use no drugs whatever, not even *coffea* (coffee), *thea* (tea), *capsicum* (red pepper); though every day, and especially at dinner, I indulge in homœopathic doses of *natrum muriaticum* (common salt)"; and *cf. Science and Health*, p. 153. Nevertheless, in spite of this disclaimer as to drugs, Mr. Dakin clearly proves that throughout her life Mrs. Eddy on occasion had recourse to morphine. See his index *sub verbo*.

wants to judge of the philosophical system she inaugurated, it is important to understand the foundress's incredible capacity for self-delusion and her apparently complete lack of any logical faculty. Illustrations of her bewildering inconsequence are so numerous that it is difficult to make choice among them, but perhaps the following example, which reveals at the same time her curious illiteracy, will serve as well as another. What can be said of a teacher who in the cause of "Divine Science" sets down in her text-book with infinite seriousness that the name "Adam is from the Latin *demens*, meaning 'madness', 'to undo', 'to spoil'. The word should be read, as rendered, 'a damn'. The Scripture plainly declares Adam accursed?" This was printed in the third edition of *Science and Health* (1881)[1]; but Mrs. Eddy subsequently seems to have acquired a copy of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, to which she occasionally refers. Somewhat better informed by consulting this authority, she modified her previous derivation. Accordingly the name Adam was henceforward said to come from the Hebrew *adamah*, signifying the red colour of the ground; but she goes on:—

> Divide the name Adam into two syllables, and it reads, *a dam*, or obstruction, this suggests the thought of something fluid, of mortal mind in solution . . . . . Here *a dam* is not a mere play upon words; it stands for obstruction, error, even the supposed separation of man from God, and the obstacle which the serpent, sin, would impose[2] between man and his creator. The dissection and definition of words, aside from their metaphysical derivation, is not scientific.[3]

Let not the reader who may be unfamiliar with that

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[1] This edition of *Science and Health* is in two volumes. The passage quoted appears in Vol. II., p. 196.

[2] Obviously she means *interpose*, but although this passage has been tinkered at again and again, as the slight alterations in the different revisions show, *impose* still remains in the final edition of 1907.

[3] *Science and Health* (1912) p. 338. What conceivable meaning can attach to the last sentence quoted? What is the "metaphysical derivation" of a word?

mystifying rigmarole of phrases divorced from sense, yclept " Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures," suppose that this is a mere casual irrelevancy, a quaint conceit which for the moment caught the author's fancy. It forms the substance of the twentyninth of the thirty-two fundamental principles of Christian Science, all duly numbered, which are introduced with this impressive declaration :—

> When the following platform is understood, and the letter and the Spirit bear witness, the infallibility of Divine Metaphysics will be demonstrated.

What is the mentality of a writer who in a treatise on the most transcendental problems of being can find profound significance in such a silly juggle with spoken English ? Does Mrs. Eddy really suppose that thousands of years ago the name Adam was conferred in oriental lands with a view to the enlightenment of that small section of the human race who one day would be able to wrest a meaning out of it by equating it to the *damn* or *dam* of their familiar speech ? One can only say that the utter topsy-turvydom of the idea is on a par with the tenets of Christian Science regarding matter and " mortal mind," " malicious animal magnetism," " God is principle not person," " Truth, Life and Love are substance," and the rest of the mumbo-jumbo which fills the pages of *Science and Health.*

As all the world knows, the main appeal of the system of which Mrs. Eddy professed to be the discoverer centred round the cure of disease. Over and over again she calls upon her followers to demonstrate the truth of her message to mankind by resisting and dispelling the supposed bodily infirmities of themselves and others—wholly unreal infirmities, as she averred, created by the illusions of mortal mind. We might easily pardon the foundress her want of logic, her crazy philosophy, her hysteria, her illiteracy, her megalomania, her greed of money, her

abandonment of her only child,[1] her autocratic methods and many other things, if only her personal claims in this matter of healing could be substantiated. Mr. Dakin following upon the tracks of Georgine Milmine, Julius A. Dresser and F. W. Peabody, clearly regards her testimony in these matters as quite untrustworthy. In spite of her portentous claims to have raised up invalids who were actually at the point of death, to have healed carious bones, and malignant diphtheria, patients sinking in the last stage of typhoid and hopeless cases of cancer and consumption,[2] Mr. Dakin points out that not one of these cures has any extrinsic evidence in its favour. They depend only upon the writer's statement. He inclines to the belief that despite all her asseverations Mrs. Eddy was secretly conscious of her personal deficiency in this respect, that she was above all anxious to meet with a working partner more gifted than herself, and that she was drawn successively to Crafts, Kennedy and Spofford, because she realised that they possessed a practical ability as healers which she did not share. In her old age particularly, "she, who had always sought the centre of the stage, could not sit back inertly, while her followers told glowing stories of their own success in using her Science to bring divine marvels into stricken lives. During all her life she had never been able to distinguish between her desires and external reality."[3] Accordingly in her last days she confided to Mr. Dickey how when she was a tiny girl, Sam, chopping

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[1] "Nobody can doubt," writes Mr. Fisher very sensibly, "that if Mrs. Glover (as she then was) had wanted to keep her child with her she would have found the means of doing so"—*Our New Religion*, p. 18. From the time she gave him up as a baby, she never saw him for 34 years. Yet in her *Retrospection and Introspection* she represents herself as heart-broken at the cruel separation. Mrs. Eddy's self-delusions were always convenient, always such as would enable her to figure more creditably in the eyes of her entourage.

[2] *Science and Health*, pp. 153, 162, 184, 386, 389, 428; and *The First Church of Christ Scientist and Miscellany* (a further collection of Mrs. Eddy's utterances, Boston 1913), p. 105.

[3] Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy*, p. 365.

wood, cut his leg and inflicted a wound which would not heal. Her father took her to see him, and she laid her hand on the bad leg. From that moment Sam's leg grew well, but little Mary herself "for several days suffered with a high fever and delirium as a result of this experience". She also told how after she had been called, like the infant Samuel, by a voice from heaven, "her body was lifted entirely from the bed on which she lay, to a height, it seemed to her, of about one foot". This levitation was repeated three several times.[1]

But whatever uncertainty may be felt regarding the cures wrought by Mrs. Eddy and her early miraculous experiences, there is one matter about which no doubt is possible. The central principle of the whole philosophy of Christian Science, that principle of which she over and over again proclaimed herself the discoverer, did not in any sense originate with her, but was simply appropriated from the notes and oral instructions of a certain P. P. Quimby. No doubt, as Mr. Fisher points out, Mrs. Eddy gave a more Christian colouring to the Quimbian idea that all states of health or disease are created solely by the mind, but her Christian colouring hardly amounted to more than a frequent appeal to convenient texts in the Old and New Testament, fortified by the calm assertion that the system had gradually been unfolded to her by divine revelation. Even after the priority of Quimby's teaching had been made patent in the course of the Dresser controversy, Mrs. Eddy in 1891 had courage to write :—

> No person can take the individual place of the Virgin Mary. No person can compass or fulfil the individual mission of Jesus of Nazareth. No person can take the place of the author of *Science and Health*, the discoverer and founder of Christian Science. Each individual must fill his own niche in time and eternity. No one else can drain the cup which I have drunk to

[1] Adam H. Dickey, *Memoirs of Mary Baker Eddy* (1927), pp. 137 and 140. Mr. Dickey himself was a most ardent and devoted Christian Scientist. He was appointed to the Board of Directors by Mrs. Eddy herself and on her death became one of the most influential men in the movement.

the dregs as the discoverer and teacher of Christian Science. . . . . I should blush to write of *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures* as I have, were it of human origin, and I, apart from God, its author. But I was only a scribe echoing the harmonies of heaven in divine metaphysics.[1]

Though this was backed up by all sorts of depreciatory references to Quimby as an old gentleman, " not devotedly religious, neither scholarly," whose compositions she (Mrs. Eddy) had corrected, and whose patients she had restored when he had failed to heal them, her indebtedness to Quimby is now fully attested by a score of letters and documents in her own handwriting. Neither Mr. Dakin, nor Mr. Fisher, nor Mr. Wortham, though all three are inclined to make excuses for the woman who was so absorbed in her mission and determined to achieve it, raise the slightest question that for years she became the mouthpiece of Quimby's teaching and everywhere proclaimed herself his disciple, attributing to him with extravagant gratitude her own complete restoration to health. The evidence now available is in fact overwhelming, and even in 1883 Mrs. Eddy, confronted by some of her own letters, had no better reply to make than that when she penned them her " head was so turned by animal magnetism," through Quimby's manipulations, that she " might have written something so hopelessly incorrect ". Mr. Fisher is content to remark :—

> Gratitude and honesty are flowers which seldom grow upon the soil of a nature at once hysterical and ambitious. If our heroine fell short of the ordinary standards of intellectual integrity, if she was not above repudiating an intellectual debt . . . . we need not blame her overmuch. A popular leader is always something of a charlatan, an autobiographer something of a poet, and the powers of self-deception accorded to the hysterical are acknowledged to be great.[2]

This may be true, but what Mr. Fisher, and also Mr. Dakin, seem to leave out of account is the fact that Mrs.

[1] *Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 95.
[2] *Our New Religion*, pp. 39-40.

Eddy is acclaimed by her followers as a great moral teacher, a nobly elevating influence in the world. Though at a moderate computation nineteen-twentieths of her text-book are taken up with physical healing, which in a sense might be called science, and only a twentieth part with conduct, *i.e.*, with Christianity, still the foundress is fond of making this sort of appeal :—

> Include moral as well as physical belief in your efforts to destroy error. Cast out all manner of evil. Speak the truth to every form of error. Tumours, ulcers, tubercles, inflammation, pain, deformed joints, are all dream-shadows, dark images of mortal thought which will flee before the light. A moral question may hinder the recovery of the sick. Lurking error, envy, revenge, malice or hate, will perpetuate or even create disease.[1]

In particular Mrs. Eddy insists greatly upon truth and honesty. " Honesty," she says, " is spiritual power. Dishonesty is human weakness which forfeits Divine help."[2] All this is, no doubt, most uplifting, but it is difficult to forget her own later attitude to Quimby, more especially when she denounces " the thinkers whose bigotry and conceit twist every fact to suit themselves," and goes on to say that "they utter a falsehood while looking you blandly in the face, and never fail to stab their benefactors in the back."[3] No doubt the Reverend Mother, as Mr. Fisher delights to call her, had by this time persuaded herself that she owed nothing of her Divine Science to any human source. But such deluded people, even if we acquit them of conscious falsehood, do not inspire respect as messengers of the Most High. Dipsomaniacs or kleptomaniacs may not be entirely responsible for their lapses from normal behaviour, but one is not disposed to canonize them as moral reformers.

The fact is that it would be hard to point to any path of virtue in which Mrs. Eddy seemed to outstrip her less ambitious fellow-citizens. She wrote a great deal about Love, nearly always with a capital letter ; but, however

[1] *Science and Health*, p. 418. [2] *Ibid.* p. 453. [3] *Ibid.* p. 450.

wealthy she became, her charity did not take the form of alms deeds. As Mr. Dakin shrewdly remarks, "the Christian Science viewpoint regarding charity is that needy humanity would not need charity if it subscribed to Christian Science and thereby used Mrs. Eddy's system of attaining well-being." So far as her intimates went, if she really had any intimates, she was lavish in terms of affection. From this point of view the facsimiles of letters received from Mrs. Eddy, which Mrs. Stetson published in 1924, are most interesting. They abound in such phrases as "My precious student," "I am thy tenderly truly Mother," "Darling," "My darling student," "My dearest child," "With tender love, thine." "My precious darling," "As ever, yours in Christ." But all this, as Mr. Dakin recounts, did not prevent the Reverend Mother from casting this favoured pupil aside, almost as she might have thrown away a worn-out glove, the moment the idea formed itself in her mind that Mrs. Stetson was showing signs of an undesirable independence. If I may liken Mrs. Eddy to a character in fiction, I would say that Anne Douglas Sedgwick (Mrs. de Selincourt) might well have conceived the unpleasant personality of her great creation, "Tante," from a study of the domestic life of the discoverer of Christian Science. Mr. Fisher, in a brilliant paragraph, has painted the Reverend Mother as she showed herself to those who formed her household.

The image of a saintly healer, gentle, compassionate, penetrated with mystical devotion, thinking always of others, never of herself, and winning her way to influence by the magic of eloquence and virtue, is as far from the reality as are the photographs which give to Mrs. Eddy the appearance of a finished lady of society. The Foundress of Christian Science did not look like a fashion plate. There was power in her well-shaped head, there were storm-clouds in her deep-set, shrewd, uneasy eyes, there was irritability and ill-temper in her thin and sensitive lips, character in her domineering nose. Mrs. Eddy was ill to live with. She was not a woman to accept atmosphere from others. Wherever she went she brought her own uncanny climate

with her. Whether as a wife, or as a prophet, or as a self-invited guest, she exacted much and conceded nothing.[1]

One point which must strike the most unobservant, even in Sibyl Wilbur's official biography, is the large number of those who after a brief period of intimacy with Mrs. Eddy broke out into open revolt, and seem, so far as one can judge, to have been subsequently regarded by her with an implacable resentment which by no means accords with the meekness she inculcated upon her healers. There is no room here to discuss in detail the stories of Kennedy, Spofford, Arens, Buswell, Mrs. Woodbury and a dozen others, but there is a feature in the case which was common to nearly all, and which, as Mr. Dakin has shown, exercised an immense influence in colouring Mrs. Eddy's outlook upon life. Twenty years ago, when writing on Christian Science,[2] I was tempted to think that the fantastic dread of "Malicious Animal Magnetism" attributed to her by her critics could hardly have gone to such length as was pretended, but the evidence now available shows that there was no exaggeration in the matter. It may fairly be said that the intensity of Mrs. Eddy's terror is a solid testimony to her conviction of the truth of her own system. Here, in fact, for once, she was logical.

Even in her early days she had believed that Quimby, though living many miles away, could by directing his thought to her case, help her to put to rout the errors of mortal mind when she felt her pains returning. She besought him to come to her aid in his "omnipresence," and thanked him effusively for his "angel visits". But this belief in "absent treatment" led her further. If such mental concentration from afar could be used to remove "error" and create health, the same process might also be employed by ill-disposed persons to induce a belief in disease and to develop the symptoms of fever or consumption. The hypnotizer, having established

[1] *Our New Religion*, pp. 78-79. [2] See *The Month*, Jan., Feb., March, 1910.

full control over his subject, can make that subject experience all the pangs of a raging tooth-ache. Mrs. Eddy held that the practitioner in her own Science, by a similar process, if his mind was turned from God, could work limitless harm upon those even at a distance towards whom his baleful purpose was directed. Accordingly for all her later days on earth she lived in terror of what she called "Malicious Animal Magnetism," a bogey so familiar in the inner circles of metaphysical healing that it was referred to compendiously by its initials as M. A. M.

Filled with this conviction, the Foundress, whenever anything went wrong, was always prepared to trace the mischief to mental malpractice on the part of some deserter from her camp. Kennedy, Spofford, Arens, Buswell were all successively accused by her, often in the most violent terms of denunciation. The story of the death of her third husband, Asa Eddy, and of all that led up to it and followed it, provides one of the most sensational chapters in her career, but it was a tragedy enlivened with many ludicrous incidents[1]. Mrs. Eddy contended that her husband had died of arsenical poison mentally administered, and insisted on a *post-mortem* examination. The surgeon testified to a diseased condition of the heart and could discover no trace of the symptoms she suggested.

The ever-present fear of M. A. M. not only led to changes of residence and to endless domestic excitements, but whole parties of students were divided into watches and charged in due rotation with the duty of counteracting the malevolent influences which the Foundress believed to be continually directed against her well-being.

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[1] Mr. Wortham tells his readers how Mr. Eddy, having caught the contagion of fear from his wife, became absolutely obsessed by it. When walking along the street with a brother Scientist, he would suddenly dodge into a doorway and pull his companion with him, explaining that only thus could they escape the mesmeric currents around them. When he went abroad, he never raised his voice above a whisper, and he would continually glance back over his shoulder to see what danger threatened." *Three Women*, p. 257.

In her last days she told her little retinue of healers at Chestnut Hill : " You don't, any of you, realise what is going on. This is a dark hour for the Cause, and you do not seem to be awake to it." And she added : " I am now working on a plane that would mean instantaneous death to any of you."[1] It was not only bodily disease and harassing incidents upsetting to her peace of mind which Mrs. Eddy attributed to the mental malpractices of her enemies. She gave them credit for interfering with the weather conditions. They were, she held, responsible for the heavy falls of snow which she particularly detested. Accordingly, as the faithful, but too candid, Mr. Dickey records, she issued a mandate on January 15, 1910, requiring her mental workers, in Christian Science phraseology, " to make a law that there shall be no more snow this season ". These meteorological efforts in her own household, as we learn from the same source, were only supplementary to the work of a committee in Boston appointed for the special purpose of caring for the weather.[2] It was in connection with some injunction similar to that about snow storms that Mrs. Eddy on one occasion, after dismissing her staff of workers, called them all back again and electrified them by saying : " Mr. Dickey, can a Christian Scientist control the weather ? " When he replied : " Yes, Mother," she put identically the same question to each person present and received the same answer. Whereupon, as Mr. Dickey narrates :—

> An expression of rejection, not to say scorn, came upon her face and she said with emphasis : " They can't and they don't." This brought a look of surprise to the face of each member of the class, for we had just been instructed, as we thought, how to take care of the weather. She repeated the statement " They can't," but immediately she added, " but God can and does." " Now,"

[1] Dickey, *Memoirs of Mary Baker Eddy*, p. 48.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 49-50. When a new edition of *Science and Health* was being printed, Mrs. Eddy made an appeal to her students that all hands should put up an effective barrage against hostile mental influences which might hamper the compositors. The printing being over she instructed her students to concentrate their efforts on the bindery.

she said, " I want you to see the point I am making. A Christian Scientist has no business attempting to control or govern the weather, any more than he has a right to control and govern sickness, but he does know, and must know, that God governs the weather, and no other influence can be brought to bear upon it. When we destroy mortal mind's belief that it is a creator, and that it produces all sorts of weather, good as well as bad, we shall then realise God's perfect weather and be the recipients of His bounty in this respect. God's weather is always right. A certain amount of rain and sunshine is natural and normal, and we have no right to interfere with the stately operation of Divine Wisdom in regulating meteorological conditions, and when we destroy the operations of mortal mind and leave the question of regulating the weather to God, we shall have weather conditions as they ought to be.[1]

Who can fathom the logical processes of a woman who talks, and writes, like this ?

The three capable critics who within a few weeks of each other have published studies, as cited at the beginning of this article, on the life and work of Mrs. Eddy are all pretty well agreed in the verdict they pronounce. Mr. Dakin's bulky and solidly documented volume is much the most comprehensive. He has, as every student of the subject must do, made full use of the materials collected more than twenty years ago in the biography by Miss Georgine Milmine (who was assisted in her researches, it is now interesting to note, by Miss Willa Cather, the author of *Death comes for the Archbishop*), but he has also studied carefully the large amount of evidence which has only become available in recent times. No one can accuse Mr. Dakin of letting his heroine down easily or of glossing over the many unamiable qualities she revealed in her climb to eminence, but it must be confessed that some of the language used by the biographer in his first paragraph and quoted by his

[1] Dickey, p. 52. Though Mr. Dickey was a most loyal Christian Scientist, it seems to have been felt that his book was indiscreet. It was accordingly withdrawn, and we may learn from Mr. Dakin that the only copy in the New York Public Library was made by a photostat process from that in the British Museum.

publishers on the dust cover of the volume sounds rather exaggerated. He calls her " one of the most gallant and infinitely pathetic figures in modern times " and declares that she " proved her right to be called unique in her degree : above censure and beyond praise ". That she had courage and extraordinary persistence may be readily conceded, but the pathos seems to me no greater than that which meets us in the case of every self-willed person who finds that in the grim struggle with old age and death no human resources can avail. Just as much as Queen Elizabeth who behaved to the last like a hoydenish school-girl and in mortal sickness would yield to no persuasion to take to her bed, Mrs. Eddy through all her ninety years was fighting primarily to have her own way.

Many causes have no doubt contributed to the spread and financial prosperity of Christian Science, and Mr. Dakin is probably right in thinking that it owes not a little of its comparative immunity from disparaging criticism to the activities of " the Committee on Publication." Nowhere did Mrs. Eddy display more impressively her remarkable business capacity than in organising this body which in every centre keeps watch on the Press and is instructed to reply to attacks and in general make things unpleasant for all publishers and editors who show any sympathy for literature which is conceived to reflect unfavourably upon Christian Science or the Foundress. The Christian Science boycott is felt to be a very formidable weapon, and it is not a little significant that in the articles on the subject in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, in the last edition (1924) of *Chambers' Encyclopaedia* and of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1929) there is not the slightest mention of the Georgine Milmine *Life of Mrs. Eddy*. Though this is the only detailed account which down to 1910 set out the true facts of the Foundress's early career and made clear her indebtedness to P. P. Quimby, the reader will

find that in the three authoritative works mentioned the official Life by Sibyl Wilbur is treated as the only reliable source of information. Still more curious is the fate of the aforesaid volume which Miss Milmine first published in the shape of articles in *McClure's Magazine*. Mr. Peabody not long since told the story in the book *Faith, Falsity and Failure of Christian Science* :—

> After the publication of this material in serial form in *McClure's Magazine* (1907-8), it was revised, new material was added and a book-publishing house brought it out as a book, entitled *The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy and the History of Christian Science*. The book had a large sale, got into the public libraries, was widely quoted and relied upon as authoritative. Then something happened. The *History* disappeared from the bookstores; the publishers refused to fill orders and finally announced that it was out of print. A friend of mine, anxious to keep the work before the public, at my suggestion wrote to the publishers asking if the firm would sell him the plates. He was informed that the plates had been destroyed, "melted down," the book would no longer be published. The publishers having no further use for the copyright, I then suggested to my friend that he ask if they would sell it to him? They replied that the copyright was not for sale.[1]

It seems probable however, that if the three candid appreciations of Mrs. Eddy which have just been published almost simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic are to be adequately refuted or suppressed, the Committee on Publication in the different Christian Science centres will have their work cut out for them for some time to come.

HERBERT THURSTON.

[1] *Faith, Falsity and Failure*, p. 217.

ELECTRIC POWER ON THE FARM IN CANADA

BY W. BURKE-GAFFNEY, S.J., B.E.

THE total outstanding capital invested in Canadian water power development exceeds 235 million pounds sterling. The range of prices of bonds and stocks of leading hydro-electric companies, and the dividends paid by the same during recent years, demonstrate that these moneys have been well invested. Now, these financially sound companies often find it to their benefit to supply the farmer with cheap power; they always find it to be a benefit to their country to do so; and the farmer finds it to his own benefit to use it. Of this last assertion there is the written evidence of many farmers. There is universal evidence in the fact that farmers do use it. They would not if it did not pay them. That the farmer in Canada uses hydro-electric power on his farm, and that more and more farmers are using it every year, might be proved by citing innumerable cases in every province of the Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific. To catalogue examples would be tedious. It would be more interesting, and quite sufficient, to consider some of these examples in detail. Furthermore, it would be more to the point, for us, to take cases of farm uses of electricity in Southern Ontario; for, of all parts of Canada, none so much resembles Ireland in its agricultural pursuits and its hydro-electrical development as Southern Ontario. In Southern Ontario there are about 3,000,000 people scattered throughout an area of 30,000 square miles and supplied with 1,000,000 h.p., by one Hydro-Electrical Scheme. The population is largely rural, and the agricultural pursuits are very varied. There are farms of 50 acres and farms of 640 acres, but the farms are generally of 100 to 200 acres in extent.

On countless farms in Southern Ontario, as in the

rest of Canada, all water is derived from an ordinary pump driven by a ½ h.p. electric motor. The popularity of this method of pumping is not surprising, seeing that a ½ h.p. motor takes 2 or 3 hours to consume a unit of electricity and a unit of electricity may cost only a penny. A much more convenient system, costing less in running expenses though more for installation, is the automatic pumping system. These plants are commonly operated by motors as low powered as ¼ h.p., or even ⅛ h.p., and yet they give a service of water for bath-rooms, lavatories, etc., equal to city service.

With the advent of electric power no coal, or wood, or oil is ever used as power fuel on many farms in Canada, and labour is reduced to a minimum; the wages of an extra hand are saved, and there would be no bill for coal but for the excessive cold in winter. Typical of such a farm is one near London (Ontario) in which electricity is used for lighting (both house and barns), washing, ironing, churning, auxiliary heating, operating an automatic water system, and running a 5 h.p. motor which drives a root pulper, an emery wheel and a saw. The bill for actual power used throughout one year on this farm was $28·27—that is less than £6. True this particular farm has to pay a service charge of $2·79 (11*s.* 6*d.*) per month, in order to help to pay for the line construction and equipment necessary to bring power to this country district. But service charges grow small as the number of consumers on the same line increases. The use of electric power for driving fodder choppers, as on this farm, is common in Canada. There are two general types of choppers: (1) the Burr, with a stationary head and a rotating plate; (2) the Hammer type, with a set of rotating hammers attached to a cylinder shaft, the whole of which rotates inside a replaceable semi-circular screen. The Burr type seems to be the more economical of the two; it consumes, on an average, ¾ of a unit of electricity per cwt. of chop.

On another farm, not far from the above-mentioned one, there is a more general use of electric power. In all six electric motors are operated: one on the vacuum cleaner, one on the washing machine, one to operate the refrigerating unit, one for the water system, a $\frac{1}{4}$ h.p. one on the milk-cooler, and a 3 h.p. one for operating the feed chopper. The yearly bill for power consumed averages about £13, and the service charges amount to about £7 a year. Electricity is not used on this farm for milking or cream separating, as it is on many other farms.

A good example of a large dairy farm is one located close to Waterloo (Ontario). It is supplied with a 110/220 volt, 3 phase service for a farmer who supplies milk to the local market. In the farm a 5 h.p. motor is belted to a line-shafting which provides the drive for a milking machine, pump feed chopper and root pulper. In the dairy a one ton refrigeration machine provides the means of cooling milk after pasteurization, or while aerating, and of preserving it while stored. A 1 h.p. motor on a brine pump maintains circulation after the compressor has been shut down. A $\frac{1}{2}$ h.p. motor on the water pump provides the water supply for dairy, barn and house use. The stirring mechanism of the pasteurization tank is driven by a $\frac{1}{4}$ h.p. motor. Another $\frac{1}{4}$ h.p. motor drives a bottle washing machine. Besides, the owner of this farm is a member of a syndicate using a 20 h.p. motor for silo filling and threshing. The amount of power used for this purpose is small, totalling only 448 units in one year. The amount used for lighting and domestic service in the same year was 946 units, and for other purposes mentioned above, 2,974 units, giving a total of 4,368 units at a cost of about £22. Not mentioned above are two hot water tanks, in which electric heaters of the bayonet type are used. These devoured 9,450 units of electricity in a year, or 70 per cent. of all the power used. In a bulletin issued by the Hydro-Electric Power

Commission of Ontario it is stated that this set-up was made without consultation of the Commission's engineers, and could be improved upon economically.

The same Commission, in another bulletin, gives a tabulation of motor power requirements for ordinary dairy work as follows :—

Cream Separator alone, $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ h.p.
" " and pump, $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 h.p.
" " and pump and farm workshop 1 to 2 h.p.
Milking Machines, $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 h.p.
Cheese and butter factories, 3 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ h.p.
Refrigeration, 1 ton plant, 5 h.p.
" 2 " $7\frac{1}{2}$ h.p.

The approximate electric power consumption, and hence the cost of operating the above, may be obtained by taking the consumption of a 1 h.p. motor as $\frac{3}{4}$ of a unit of electricity per hour. As regards milking machines, results obtained with them, where care was given and bacteria count regularly made, were reported more favourable than results obtained by hand milking. There are three kinds of milking machines in use on farms in Ontario: (1) the progressive vacuum type; (2) the vacuum pressure type; (3) the straight vacuum type. As said above, power requirements for these vary from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 h.p. Many of the farms using electric power in Southern Ontario use the kitchen as their dairy. There they instal a $\frac{1}{2}$ h.p. or 1 h.p. motor belted to a line-shafting which provides the drive for the cream separator, butter churn, and washing machine.

In the example of a large dairy farm which we considered above, it was mentioned that use was made of a syndicate outfit. These syndicate outfits for heavier power needs, such as silo-filling, threshing and wood-cutting, are common enough in the Province. An outfit is shared conveniently by six partners. It consists of two wagons, on one of which is mounted the motor and

starter, and on the other the transformer, secondary cable, primary cable, primary switch, and metering equipment.

Hydro-electric power also finds its place in poultry farm work. A concrete example is found in a farm near Woodstock. The owner's business is the incubating of eggs and the sale of day-old chicks. He has electric lighting in his house, barn and chicken pens, an electric iron, a $\frac{1}{4}$ h.p. motor on the washing machine, $\frac{1}{6}$ motor on the furnace blower, $\frac{1}{4}$ h.p. motor on the automatic water pumping system, an electric vacuum cleaner, an electric cooking range, a 20,000 egg incubator with six electric heaters in it and with a $\frac{1}{2}$ h.p. motor on its air circulator. The total consumption of electricity on the farm for 12 months was 5,207 units, costing \$98·33 (about £20), with \$36·72 (about £7 10*s.*) for service charges.

Besides the use of electricity on a farm itself, it has also been found most profitable for cheese and butter factories in country districts. In one such case, where as much as 50,000 lb. of milk is handled per day, it is claimed that the electric power bill is one third the cost of providing the power by steam. The factory runs motors of 1, 2, 5 and 10 h.p. The consumption of electricity for one year, inclusive of lighting, was 14,354 units; and the net bill for the same year, including service charges, was \$432 (£87 approximately)—of which \$292 (£50) was for power actually consumed.

Unfortunately not every farmer can have cheap hydro-electric power. If he is far from a distributing centre of power, and if he alone in his district requests electric power or is far from his neighbours who want it, he cannot have it at a price that would pay, for the reason that the cost of the distribution lines, transformers, and other equipment necessary for conveying the electrical energy has to be borne. In Canada a greater percentage of the farmers than in older countries are face to face

with this difficulty. Even in Southern Ontario, one of the most thickly populated parts of Canada, the rural population is very scattered. The average distance from farm building to farm building is one-third of a mile; and farm houses are usually built far in from the public road. The Ontario Government, mindful of the common good and general benefit derived by supplying farmers with cheap power, has helped to overcome this difficulty by providing grants in aid of the installation of rural transmission lines. These grants are made to the extent of fifty per cent. of the primary and secondary equipment; that is, the Government pays half the capital cost of the lines and equipment necessary to deliver power from the distributing centre to the individual consumer. The grants thus given make it possible to extend a moderately priced hydro-electric power service to those engaged in agricultural pursuits in less densely populated districts, where otherwise such service would be out of the question. This subsidizing does not lead to the supplying of electrical needs on an unsound economic basis. No project is undertaken unless, in the judgment of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission, it can pay its way. In practice this principle leads the Commission to require a minimum of three farm contracts, or their equivalent, per mile of distribution line.[1]

The rates shown on a bill for electrical service to farms in Ontario are always two-fold: First, a service charge, which is really a payment on the cost of the construction and operating of the line and equipment carrying service to them from the distribution centre; and second, a consumption charge, per unit of electricity used, at the cost price of power at the distribution centre. On the total bill there is allowed a prompt payment discount of 10 per cent. Consumers do not bear equally the cost of line construction etc., but have service charges assessed according to their power demands. As has

[1] "Canadian Electrical Development" by Fred A. Gaby, D.Sc.

already been remarked, service charges are reduced by having many consumers on one line, and owing to the government grant, consumers only bear *half* the cost of construction. Besides, those who have had electrical power for some time receive substantial rebates after more consumers have come on the line. To cite an instance: "The Farmer's Advocate" farm had been using electric power for two years with a quarterly service charge of $16·50; the service charge was then reduced to $8·85 quarterly, and the farm received a rebate of $69·78.

Another difficulty in supplying scattered farms with electricity is found in the facts that the operating costs, due to distances to be covered, are high; the load per mile of distribution system is small, the load factor is low, and the demand irregular—and herein comes the difficulty of suitable transformers. Fred. A. Gaby, the Chief Engineer of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, in his brochure "Canadian Electrical Development" (from which I have freely drawn) states the case thus: "Since the average number of consumers per service transformer is small, little advantage is obtained from diversity of the load on the individual transformer. The individual transformer must be capable of carrying the maximum load—usually of short duration. On the other hand, the number of transformers connected to one feeder is large, due first to the relatively small transformer, and secondly to the wide diversity in the transformer demands on the feeder. At the time of peak load on the rural feeder, therefore, there is a large number of transformers from which the consumers are drawing little or no current, and these lightly loaded transformers result in a low power factor for the load on the feeder." To ameliorate this condition it is insisted that rural transformers shall have low exciting currents. In other respects, however, the rural transformers are similar to those used in urban systems—except where conditions

necessitate the use of voltages other than those of the standard circuit. Then, of course, modifications are necessary in the transformers.

Although the rates for electrical service in the country are necessarily higher than in the city, nevertheless the charges for actual power consumed are quite moderate. Hence, for the farmer who makes a generous use of electricity, both on the farm and in his home, the average cost of power service is very favourable.

To summarise: the farmer in Canada, or at least in Southern Ontario (which resembles Ireland in area, population, agricultural pursuits and hydro-electric development), is using and ever increasing his uses of hydro-electric power,[1] and is finding the cost of doing his work by this method lower than that of doing it by the older methods. By using this power, he need employ less labour, since electric motors, unlike steam, gas or oil engines, require but little attention, whilst even any of these are labour-saving compared with manual methods. On the other hand, farmers could scarcely have had this power supplied to them, but for the government subsidy, the stability of the power companies, the general demand for electrical energy, and the prosperity of the country.

W. Burke-Gaffney.

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[1] At the end of the year 1927 there were 25,000 rural consumers of hydro-electric power in Southern Ontario, by the end of 1928 there were 31,500; and of these more than thirty per cent. live on isolated farms.

In 1900 Canada had to import 3 million tons of coal, and in 1929 about 18 million tons; in 1900 her developed hydro-power was 170,000 h.p., and in 1929 about 5,500,000 h.p. Although her coal imports increased sixfold in 29 years, her hydro-power increased thirty-sixfold. In other words, to do the work she did in 1929 she would have had to import 48 million tons of coal instead of 18 million tons, if she had not developed her water power at all.

CHRONICLE

A Pioneer of Newspaper Combines

BY FRANCIS MCCULLAGH

William Randolph Hearst: An American Phenomenon. By John K. Winkler. (London: Jonathan Cape. 1928. 15s.).

Mr. Winkler's book is different from that on the two Bennetts which I reviewed last September in *Studies*, being much less critical of the personage written about. It is indispensable, however, to the student of journalism on account of its bringing together in one handy volume a large number of facts about Mr. Hearst which were never brought together before. There is much here of Mr. Hearst's private life, but these are not the facts which I mean. What is of real importance is Mr. Hearst's achievements as the pioneer in the creation of huge newspaper combines and as the head of a huge industry—for, under him, journalism became an industry.

His career is also interesting as being half in the period when the owner of a newspaper was also an editor, a journalist, a personality, a man with a programme, and half in the period of to-day when the owner of a great string of papers is no longer an editor in the old sense of the word. Mr. Hearst is still conservative enough, however, to dominate his group of papers more than any of the other journalistic commanders whose group is of more recent creation than his own. The managers of the youngest group of all, the Frank E. Gannett group, leave the editorial opinions and politics of their units unchanged, with the result that they have Democratic papers and Republican papers. The Scripps-Howard organization controls the national and international politics, but leaves local jurisdiction in charge of local editors. It sends by leased wire from Washington editorial matter on national questions, though there is no strict rule about the use of such matter.

Mr. Hearst owns thirty-nine newspapers and magazines in America and abroad, as well as half-a-dozen international news-features and moving-picture services, and his profits are about three million pounds sterling a year. I have already spoken—in the September issue of *Studies*—of his henchman, Mr. Arthur Brisbane, who draws an annual salary of £50,000 and holds over £1,800,000 worth of house property in New York City.

Lloyd George, Poincaré and other European statesmen write for him; so does Mr. Bernard Shaw, M. André Maurois, and writers of similar calibre in France and Germany; and his recent on-

slaught on Mr. Stanley Baldwin is said to have been due to that gentleman's refusal to write for him also. At first sight he seems, therefore, to be a super-journalist.

Both the Bennetts concentrated most of their energy on getting exclusive news. Hearst, who came later than the elder Bennett, did not neglect this aspect of journalism; but he developed a number of new features which have influenced all the press of the world. He aspired to the reputation of "getting things done," of giving advice to distressed and muddled readers, of championing the cause of the oppressed, of publishing "sob stuff" for love-lorn maidens and vaguely religious advice for those open to religious influences. He uses texts of Scripture at the top of his first page, and pays Protestant clergymen to write sermons for him at least once a week. This procedure would hardly succeed in the secular newspapers either of England or France, but it has been undoubtedly very successful in America, where there is a vague reverence for religion even amongst those who belong to no recognized Church.

Another feature of Hearst journalism is the attempt to get for the *New York Journal* and the other Hearst publications the reputation of being the protectors of the weak and the fearless denouncers of the rich but iniquitous officials and plutocrats. There has always been a good deal of vague philanthropy in journalism and in poetry, but Hearst gives the name and address of the poor man whose cause he has espoused or of the rich man whom he is exposing, with the result that the average man in the Bowery gets the very erroneous idea that if ever he meets with trouble, Hearst will instantly rush to his assistance. This fact explains, I think, more than anything else the great circulation of the Hearst papers. The average obscure man who has been unjustly treated by somebody in authority feels himself very weak and helpless when he tries to get justice, for the only legal course open to him is a long, expensive, and uncertain course. In ancient times he was sometimes lucky enough to attract the attention of the King at the door of a church or at the gate of a castle, and to have his case summarily disposed of. Saint Louis used to sit under a tree outside his palace and listen to the grievances of any subject, no matter how poor. With the increase of population and the greater complexity of life, these primitive methods became impossible, but Mr. Hearst has devised something like them. Needless to say, the imitation is bad, and there is a good deal of the "fake" about it. In short William Randolph Hearst is not Saint Louis. He is a hard-headed American business man who wants to sell his newspapers.

A study of the Hearst system is of more importance to us in Ireland than a study of the Gordon Bennett system; for, whereas the latter system is almost dead, the former is very much alive and has been imitated in England, so far at least as its " chain-newspapers " are concerned ; and those " chain-newspapers " threaten between them to Anglicize Ireland more effectively than Henry VIII or Elizabeth or Cromwell or William III or Pitt or Gladstone was ever able to do. If ever accomplished, this conquest will not be the reward of a carefully thought-out plan of campaign : Ireland will figure merely as a miserable side-issue in the fight for circulation between several gigantic groups of English newspapers. None of these newspapers will hurt Irish feelings in the matter of nationality or of religion, for the " big circulation " newspaper refrains carefully from anything that might offend, and has even dropped the party label as being liable to prevent an increase in its circulation. The editors of such newspapers have discovered that the vast majority of their readers hold no political faith very strongly, and are less interested in politics than they are in murders, divorces, sport and fiction.

Sensational to the last degree, the Hearst papers endeavour to make their general appearance correspond to the nature of the message which they carry by the liberal use of " streamer headings," vivid colours, flags, pictures, and other devices. It was, by the way, the use of colours by Hearst and Pulitzer in their comic section which led to the invention of the term " yellow press " —a term of well-deserved reproach, for the appearance of either the *World* or the *New York Journal* in a time of crisis is neither artistic nor edifying. The Hearst newspapers especially seem to be written for people who can only understand the very simplest English, who are very credulous, who delight in reading about murders and in looking at pictures which represent " where the body was found." Though Mr. Hearst pays huge salaries and sometimes gets correspondents of high reputation, he is most careless about facts, especially in the matter of foreign news ; but, strange to say, this carelessness does not seem to do him any harm with his readers. Apparently they forget to-day what he told them yesterday, or if they retain any memory of yesterday's bogus calamity, it is a memory of pleasant titillation. I remember that on visiting New York in 1905 aboard the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* with the Russian Peace Delegation, the first paper we received at Sandy Hook was a copy of the *New York Journal* containing a lurid and detailed account of how we had all been lost at sea ; but this blunder did not do Hearst a ha'-

penny's-worth of harm. Sometimes, however, other people are harmed. The assassination of President McKinley was preceded by a series of murderous attacks on him in the columns of the Hearst papers, and Theodore Roosevelt as well as many other Americans were convinced that those attacks inflamed the weak brain of the illiterate Pole who perpetrated the murder. In support of that contention, they quoted the following lines which Ambrose Bierce had written in the *Journal* on February 4, 1901, on the occasion of Governor Goebel's assassination :—

> The bullet that pierced Goebel's breast
> Cannot be found in all the West ;
> Good reason, it is speeding here
> To stretch McKinley on his bier.

Answering attacks on it, the *Journal* asserted that it had "fought for the people, and against privilege and class pride and class greed and class heartlessness." But though the millionaire owner of the Hearst papers did expose several scandals, especially the illegitimate influence of the Standard Oil in politics, he did so, not because he loved the poor, but because he wanted to draw attention to himself by creating a sensation and a disturbance. Even when he tries to help a good cause, he goes the wrong way about it and consequently does more harm than good. In 1927, for example, he attacked Calles and published a long series of documents showing that Calles had plotted against the security of the United States, but eventually he had to confess that those documents were forgeries.

He was largely responsible for the Spanish-American war ; and Mr. Winkler gives a good account of how he goaded the United States to madness on that occasion. One of the measures he took was to send an eminent artist to draw pictures of Spanish cruelty in Cuba ; but the artist could find no cases of Spanish cruelty, did not believe there would be a war, and wanted to return home. Whereupon Hearst cabled him : "Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war." Hearst afterwards denied privately that this message had ever been sent, but there is no question that it represented his general attitude.

On the other hand, Hearst opposed American participation in the Great War, and was no friend of France and England, with the result that his correspondents were chased out of those two countries, whilst he himself sustained a financial loss running probably into millions of pounds sterling. So formidable, indeed, was the storm raised against him in America after the United States came in, that he would probably have been crushed, had

he not changed his course and become strongly pro-war from the Spring of 1918 till the armistice.

Americans, as a rule, are ashamed of the Hearst papers, whose sternest critics have been United States senators, presidents, statesmen, and scholars. In the furious competition between the *World* and the *Journal* which preceded the Spanish-American War, the scholarly Edwin Lawrence Godkin denounced both those papers in language which is so apt that I shall quote it :—

> Their business is not to promote public happiness or morality, but to 'sell the papers.' The resources of type have been about exhausted. Nothing in the way of larger letters can be used, unless only a single headline is to be given on the first page. Red ink has been resorted to as an additional element of attraction or terror, and if we had a war, the whole paper might be printed in red, white and blue. In that case, real lunatics instead of imitation lunatics might be employed as editors and contributors ..... a yellow-journal office is probably the nearest approach, in atmosphere, to hell existing in any Christian State. A better place in which to prepare a young man for eternal damnation than a yellow-journal office does not exist.

And Mr. Winkler, who was employed by Hearst, writes :—

> There is a neurotic, percussive atmosphere in every Hearst newspaper office. Men of stability seem to experience a subtle change of nature when they accept employment under Hearst. It has been noticed time and again. They apparently take it for granted that they are expected to slide down coal-shoots and do acrobatics on fire-escapes. Every Hearst editor is inspired with an hysterical itch for speed and accomplishment. 'Get excited when the public is excited.'

This last sentence is a quotation from Mr. Hearst himself. He added that " people will buy any paper which seems to express their feelings in addition to printing the facts." Unfortunately, he went in more for expressing feelings than for printing duly authenticated facts. Sometimes he *made* the news, and very often it was he who excited the people. I have already remarked that he did expose a number of scandals ; and it must be confessed that he attacked the Trusts before Roosevelt, stressed the virtues of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall before Wilson, and advocated popular election of Senators before Robert M. La Follette, but I am afraid that, as I have already pointed out, his object in all these cases was more to cause a rumpus than to purify the politics of his country. In other words he was insincere. But how many sincere politicians exist in any country ? The " Glorious Revolution " to which Englishmen look back with such pride was carried out by men whose corruption and insincerity surpass anything we find in American politics to-day ; and even Lord Marlborough and John Wilkes were anything but perfect characters. It would be a mistake, therefore, to assume that America is doomed because it produces men like William Randolph Hearst. One should not ask too much of the world.

In his anxiety to gain over the manual workers, the large masses of foreigners in the great cities, and the poor generally, Hearst sometimes went near to Bolshevism, for he advocated the nationalization of railways, coal-mines, and other public utilities; but if this nationalization had been carried out, it would have probably done great harm to America where, as we see from the example of the United States Shipping Lines, Government management is fatal. Hearst also produced a very bad feeling against all capitalists—and, in fact, against all persons in authority—by his clever and persistent attacks, and more especially by the attacks which took the shape of caricatures drawn by such masters of the pencil as Davenport, Opper, Powers and Dorgan. Some great capitalists and some public officials deserved all they got, but Hearst's sweeping onslaughts shook, in many simple minds, all respect for authority and for the principle of private property.

Hearst was very far, however, from Bolshevism, and I do not think there is ever any chance of a millionaire newspaper owner placing in the saddle people who will immediately confiscate all his properties; but in stirring up the crowd as he did, he was playing with fire. Many of the Communist papers now published in Russia are modelled on Hearst lines: the same use of coloured inks; "streamer" headlines; short, jolty sentences; and offensive caricatures.

Oswald Garrison Villard, a veteran editor himself, has no mercy on the many "apologists for Hearst" who have appeared, and says that they "forget to mention the utterly despicable methods through which Hearst preaches his doctrine of war upon privilege—the lying, chicanery, dishonesty . . . . . and the consequent measureless degradation of the public taste . . . . . He has done more to degrade the entire American press than anyone else in its history—more indeed than Pulitzer and both the Bennetts combined . . . . . Indubitably he has fought and is fighting many a good battle . . . . . but it is all tarnished by self-interest, and arouses the never-failing and justified suspicion of his sincerity."

That this suspicion is entertained by a good many of the working men to whom Hearst appeals is proved by his failure in politics, a failure which his biographer describes at considerable length. One chapter is devoted to Mr. Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency in November 1928; for this personage enters naturally into the *cadre* of Hearst's biography since, in 1919, Smith defied Hearst, and denounced him in Carnegie Hall as a "pestilence that walks in the dark"—"an enemy of the people."

FRANCIS MCCULLAGH.

REVIEWS

Art

FURTHER LETTERS OF VINCENT VAN GOGH TO HIS BROTHER, 1886-1889. London: Constable. 1929. 31s. 6d. net.

JUST a year ago I reviewed for *Studies* the two volumes of Van Gogh's letters, written to his brother Theo between the years 1872 and 1876. I then expressed the hope that they would be supplemented by a final volume, to enable a complete judgment to be formed about his enigmatic personality. Despite the realisation of that hope I am as far as ever from understanding the mentality of that extraordinary man. The difficulty is not that he suffered on several occasions from prolonged attacks of mania. It arises, rather, from the impossibility of reconciling the strangely antagonistic elements of his character with any rule of life or any standard of experience. Egoistic and sensual to the verge of mere brutality, he could be, almost in the same breath, as generous, as tender and as sensitive as the most innocent child.

When he found himself compelled to seek refuge, voluntarily, in the madhouse at Arles, his letters to his beloved Theo are much more troubled for his brother's peace of mind than even for his own. "As for what concerns me, do not worry yourself too much." "One must not forget that an old crock is an old crock, and so I have in no case the right to have any pretentions." "I am trying myself also to do as well as I can, but I will not conceal from you that I hardly dare count on having the necessary sanity. And if my malady returns, you would forgive me." Such phrases abound, side by side with the most touching expressions of gratitude. "At present I do not think my pictures are worthy of the goodness I have had from you. But once they are worthy, I swear that you will have created them as much as I." "I grip your hand in thought. All your kindnesses to me, they seemed greater than ever to-day ..... if you do not see any good results from it, my dear, don't fret about that; your own goodness abides."

When these letters were written van Gogh was glad, on very rare occasions, to sell a picture for five pounds, such a picture as would now, perhaps, fetch five thousand. Scarcely anyone but Theo and Gauguin then believed in him as an artist. Now-a-days the world must realise that he might have been a consider-

able artist in literature as well as being a superlative painter. These letters show, too, that there was something very like sanctity deep in the spirit of that unhappy man.

The three years they cover saw the culmination of his genius. Crazed in mind, racked in body, he found himself at last in the country destined to ripen to the full his innate talents. Masterpiece after masterpiece flowed from his brush, in Arles, in Saint Rémy and at Auvers-sur-Oise. A letter written on the 23rd of July, 1889, contains three brilliant sketches of pictures in progress at that moment. Four days later his brain again gave way, and he shot himself. Within a week he was dead.

Some little time before, he had written to Theo : " From the moment people are gone, you remember only their good moments and their good qualities . . . . . It would be so simple and would account so well for the terrible things in life, which now amaze and wound us so, if life has yet another hemisphere, invisible it is true, but in which one lands when one dies." When Theo who, despite great difficulties of every kind, had financed and befriended him all through his life, wrote to tell their mother of the tragedy he could only find it in his heart to say : " He was so good ! "

THOMAS BODKIN

Biography

AT THE COURT OF THE EUCHARISTIC KING. The Story of the Franciscan Convent of Perpetual Adoration, Drumshambo, Ireland, and of its Foundresses : Mother Elizabeth of St. Clare Law, Mother Mary of St. Joseph Horne, and Mother Mary Immaculate of St. Agnes Grattan. Compiled from the Annals and Records of the Convent by Mrs. Thomas Concannon, M.A., D.Litt. Dublin : Gill. 1929. 7s. 6d.

FACING page 240 of this remarkable book there is a facsimile of a fragment of Mother St. Joseph Horne's handwriting which caught my eye as I glanced somewhat carelessly over the copy sent us at the Library U.C.G., by the publishers in accordance with the Copyright Act. When I read through this short passage I put the book aside for my own reading at once ; for a fairly wide knowledge of the writings of the great mystics showed me that we had here the authentic note of the true contemplative, and I was in hopes of adding to my collection of mystical " documents " a specimen from our own land, and of learning something about the writer and her sisters. My first expectation was a little disappointed, for most of Mother St. Joseph's writings had been destroyed by herself, but the second was amply gratified.

This is a truly delightful book, a history of a Franciscan foundation by two converts of the heroic period of Newman and Manning, begun in London and finding its permanent home in Leitrim, full of adventures, social, spiritual and mystical. Mrs. Concannon tells her tale simply, directly, keeping herself in the background and letting the records speak for themselves. It is a model of what a history of a religious house should be—simple, effective, free from the *clichés* of pious rhetoric, but full of interest. We have passages which remind us of St. Teresa's Foundations, others which show us how different was Catholic life seventy years ago from what it is now. Here is an extract from the Convent Annals in 1858 (at Christmas) :—

> High Mass followed Matins, and the Sisters received Holy Communion (Cardinal Howard, an old friend of theirs in their London days, having obtained for them this great privilege from Pope Pius IX for five years). The chapel was already crowded, an immense number of people being obliged to remain outside in the Park—so great was the fervour of the populace to join with the Fathers and the Nuns in greeting the New Born King.

On p. 163 we read how Marion Grattan, the future Abbess, made her first Communion at the age of 16 ! And she had been at the Sacred Heart Convent, Roehampton, from the age of eight ! Her story reminds one of St. Teresa's novice whose mother fought like a demon to stop her entering religion. Mrs. Grattan was not unlike the Spanish great lady ; both considered themselves excellent Catholics, but grudged their children to God, and both were overruled to His greater Glory.

It would be difficult to say what are the best chapters in the book. Some will prefer the earlier chapters with their wealth of biography, and others like myself the later ones, which give a spiritual biography of the three great women who presided over the foundation and formed its spirit. Ireland has plenty of Marthas to boast of, but too few Marys. At least so it seems on the outside, for we know our Marthas, but we don't know our Marys. Perhaps God keeps them all hidden in our land, as He kept His Mother, St. Joseph and Himself hidden in Nazareth.

JOHN HOWLEY.

THE EMPEROR ROMANUS LECAPENUS AND HIS REIGN. By Steven Runciman. Cambridge University Press. 1929. 16s. net.

THE Emperor who is the subject of this historical study was not quite half-way through his reign of thirteen years on the Roman throne of Byzantium a thousand years ago. He was a remarkable

character, and, although he obtained power by devious and treacherous means, takes rank as a good Emperor, under whose rule Roman power was consolidated on all sides and extended on some. By origin a complete nobody—his father, an Armenian peasant called Theophylactus, was known also as Abastactus, the Unbearable—and not even educated, he rose from a humble position in the navy to the supreme post of Grand Drungarius of the Fleets, from which position it was a natural step to possess himself of the throne itself during the confusion that followed the death of Leo the Wise. He was never sole Emperor, having always associated with him the studious young heir of the older Macedonian house, Constantine Porphyrogennetus, to whom we owe a valuable treatise on the Imperial government. In 944, when the unruly sons of Romanus had consigned him in his old age to a monastery, the popular prestige of the Macedonian dynasty was still so great that Constantine could suppress them without effort. He resumed the sole power, and in the person of his grandson Basil II his house later gave Byzantium the most resounding of her conquerors.

Mr. Runciman's book is a very agreeable detailed study of the reign of Romanus, prefaced by an excellent chapter on Byzantine life in the tenth century. As he remarks, there is need for more detailed "horizontal" histories of the Eastern Empire —studies of whole periods in every aspect—to balance the many valuable "perpendicular" studies of certain subjects through several reigns that already exist. It is a pity that his own work is so purely political in its scope, for his first chapter shows that he could do excellent work on a wider canvas; and one misses particularly from his book some indication of the fact that in the tenth century Byzantium was going through a remarkable literary as well as political renaissance.

In his succeeding chapters we travel all around the marches of the Empire and watch Romanus dealing with its problems in the traditional Byzantine way—patiently, shrewdly, through diplomacy more often than war. Mr. Runciman seems most at home in the Slavonic areas, and in particular gives an excellent account of the liquidation of the Empire's serious Bulgarian problem. In dealing with the vaguely formed but very menacing nations of the Steppes he seems really to enjoy himself, most of all with the Petchenegs, those incorrigible Turkish barbarians of whom even the Hungarians, who were not much better, were in mortal terror. For all these matters he has the excellent models of Russian and Bulgarian historians like Vasilievsky and

Zlatarsky, but he himself also moves with ease among Slavonic documents.

When he gets to the Eastern frontier, Armenia and Mesopotamia, though here also solid, painstaking, and surprisingly readable through a mass of outlandish details, he is evidently less happy with his authorities. He follows French translations, and one result is a somewhat weird spelling of Arabic and other Oriental names. Two examples will suffice: *Maçoudi* as the name of a chronicler, and *Hafdjidj* as the name of a fortress. These chapters are literally sprinkled with wastes of phonetic symbols vocal only to the Gaul. Apart from spelling, however, there is little fault to be found with Mr. Runciman's use of his authorities. On Southern Italy he is equally interesting and shows the same rather unusual capacity for emerging above an ocean of detail. His book is an admirable piece of thorough work on a neglected period. M. T.

FREDERICK THE GREAT. By Werner Hegemann. Translated from the German by Winifred Ray. London: Constable. 1929. 18s. net.

The character and achievements of Frederick the Great have been the subject of two English biographies which have greatly influenced, one indirectly, the other directly, the popular conception of what that monarch was. The first, by Thomas Campbell, was the occasion of Macaulay's review in which he gave his estimate of Frederick's character. In that essay he emphasises the perfidy of Frederick, especially in his treatment of the Empress Maria Theresa and in his readiness to desert his allies in order to continue his pro-French policy. The author of the *Anti-Machiavel*, "an edifying homily against rapacity, perfidy, arbitrary government, unjust war," did not hesitate, when the moment came, "to commit the great crime of violating his plighted faith, of robbing the ally whom he was bound to defend, and of plunging all Europe into a long, bloody and desolating war." All this was done to satisfy a selfish greed for more territory and personal glory. Having gained his ends in Silesia, he did not hesitate to turn his back on his French allies. Similar treacherous changes of coat mark the whole foreign policy of Prussia under his leadership.

His second biographer, Carlyle, is a hero-worshipper. His praise has no qualifications. With him Frederick's most obvious faults became worthy traits of character. He was a man after Carlyle's own heart, one of his heroes. He was the embodiment

of the force that Carlyle so much admired. The superman could do no wrong. The biographer delves into ancient history to search out a justification for the Silesian treachery. When Voltaire attacks the private character of the demi-god, he becomes for the historian "poor Voltaire." The militarism of this "the last of the kings" supplies a theme on which Carlylean hyberbole can vent itself to the full. "There were great kings before Napoleon—and likewise an Art of War, grounded on veracity and human courage and insight, not upon Drawcansir rodomontade, grandiose Dick-Turpinism, revolutionary madness, and unlimited expenditure of men and gunpowder." The whole tone of the work suggests that the author believed there was only one great king before Napoleon, and that he was the creator of the Art of War.

Now comes an iconoclast and out of Germany. His blows are for the idol and for idol-worshipper alike. Carlyle's dithyramb has held the field in Germany and Europe all too long—away with it! The aim of the author is to depose the Frederick legend so carefully built up by the English writers. Herr Werner Hegemann, in his foreword to the English translation, declares his purpose quite clearly. He is honest, if not convincing. He believes that all historical writings are political pamphlets. He is apparently a German nationalist with a definite grievance against Frederick the Great, and his "book opposes the overpowering and continuously increasing mass of literature in praise of the 'Great King.'" His thesis is that Frederick was an obnoxious figure, and "the fact that he could be held up for a hundred and fifty years as the model for kings" is for him a world tragedy.

Herr Hegemann considers Frederick guilty of two unpardonable sins: his friendship for France and his hostility to Austria. Because of these sins the Prussian king is subjected to an attack that is facetious and scarcely convincing.

Frederick's subjection to French influence in the cultural sphere is taken as evidence of his anti-German bias. Nobody will claim that Frederick had a discriminating literary taste, but that was scarcely his fault. He lived in a time when France dominated Europe in matters cultural.

He is condemned for his admittedly false economic policy. Mercantilism was his economic creed, but mercantilism in his time had not yet fallen before the onslaughts of the Physiocrat and the Free Trader.

The author regards Frederick as the enemy of German unity.

The attack on Austria, in his opinion, definitely destroyed the chance of the setting up of a Central European Great Power. The greatness of Prussia was the object to which all German interests were sacrificed. His "unconcern and irresponsibility in German questions" are things "in which he affords such a contrast to Goethe, whose political vision embraced North and South, Alsace and Austria, with equal affection . . . Germany, having been arbitrarily and designedly diminished by Prussia, was to achieve glory as a bureaucratically administered Greater Prussia; this was the intention of the Great King. It is true this would entail the loss of Germany's future domination over the Balkans (at that time regarded as a matter of course) as well as of Austria, Hungary, Flanders, Alsace, Lorraine, and Schleswig, in a word of the necessary conditions of a Central European Great Power." It may be questioned whether the establishment of the Prussian hegemony was not a necessary preliminary to German unity. Bismarck also assailed Austria, but he took no territory. And it has been urged that Napoleon III's victories over Austria in Italy were the preparation of Sedan and the proclamation of the German Empire from Versailles.

The author had plenty of material for a fair and devastating attack on Frederick; but he has misused his material and lost his opportunity. P. F. D.

THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS. By Alban Butler. A new edition by Herbert Thurston, S.J. Vol. II. February. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1930. 7s. 6d.

Father Thurston is as indefatigable as ever; yet even he has been compelled to call in help for his projected revision of the twelve volumes of Butler's *Lives of the Saints.* In this volume the actual revision of Butler's text, and the addition of new biographies, has been largely the work of Miss Norah Leeson. Father Thurston's own work has been confined in the main to the critical revision of the whole. Characteristically, he claims full responsibility for "all that is defective or inaccurate in the treatment of the Lives." I have not attempted the ungrateful task of searching for minor errors. The task would certainly be no easy one; for Father Thurston's trained critical faculty is apparent on every page of this volume, and all who have read it will hope that so skilful an editor will be able to carry through to the end his self-appointed task.

As in the preceding volume, Butler's text has been reduced by drastic cuts; Miss Leeson has, if anything, been more drastic

than Father Thurston in her use of the blue pencil. And, again as in the first volume, there are numerous short biographies not to be found at all in the original Butler. In all about a hundred of the *Lives* here printed are either new or have been largely rewritten by one or other of the two Editors. There are, of course, the newly canonised and beatified Saints and Beati : Saint Gabriel of the Sorrows, Blessed John Bosco, Blessed Claude de la Colombière, Blessed Théophane Vénard are the most conspicuous examples. Father Thurston's hand is plain in other welcome additions to the text : the special article on the Liturgy of Candlemas, for example, and the critical account of Saint Ignatius of Antioch. Saint Brigid's *Life* has also been completely rewritten, and Irish Saints are prominent throughout the volume. But there is here matter for every taste—from Saint Valentine to the holy Martyrs of Japan. And at the end of every *Life* comes the short, but invaluable bibliography, which makes this work not only a book of devotion, but also a very valuable work of reference for the student. To its Editor we say : *Ad multos annos !* A. G.

Economics .

WEALTH AND LIFE. By J. A. Hobson. London : Macmillan. 1929. 15s. net.

It is very difficult to understand Mr. Hobson's attitude. Himself a distinguished economist, he is very angry with other economists because they write about their own subject and not about other subjects. There is practically no accusation made in his new book to which the average economist would not readily plead guilty. It is admitted by all that economic welfare is not identical with human welfare, and that there are large important fields of human activity which are unmeasurable by the economist's measuring rod, namely money. The desired is frequently not identical with the desirable ; organic gains and losses are not accurately measured by the hedonistic calculus. All this is freely admitted. What the economist does assert is that in one particular sphere of human activities the amount of a person's wealth is an important factor determining the amount of his welfare, and that in every case an increase of wealth is the occasion of a potential increase even of non-material welfare. Whether the occasion is wisely or unwisely used is not a matter for the economist as such.

To state that the economist ignores or is indifferent to the ethical aspect of human action is simply untrue. Even the

most extreme individualist will admit that the "economic man" is a man guided by the dictates of morality. The classical economists all assume that men in pursuit of wealth must act inside the ring fence constructed of law and morality. Modern writers never fail to emphasize the importance of altruistic and philanthropic motives; and all are agreed that the end of all economic activity should be a noble, full, and good life. That pleasures differ qualitatively as well as quantitatively is never denied, but it is quite correctly held that qualitative differences are not always measurable in terms of money—the economist's only medium of exact measurement. An ounce of arsenic may command a higher price than an ounce of salt, just as a taxi-meter registers the distance travelled indifferently whether the car to which it is attached is going to a gambling den or to a church. The measuring rod in either case does not pretend to measure ultimate values. The question of the use to which wealth or leisure should be put is one of primary social importance, but it is not a matter which the economist as such is called upon to study as a department of pure economics.

Again, no economist wants Mr. Hobson to tell him that the present system of distribution is in many ways undesirable. The existence of unjust contracts resulting from unequal bargaining power is universally admitted, and differential gains of factors of production which are rendered artificially scarce by social institutions are a matter of common knowledge. The dominant problem of economic discussion to-day is how the inequalities and injustices arising from these causes can be remedied by public action. But the economist in his study of this problem must keep his eye fixed on the possible productive reactions of such rearrangements as may seem desirable, and must never cease to point out to the statesman that a more equal distribution of the national dividend may have the result of reducing the size of the dividend to such an extent that everybody will be worse off than before. To accuse modern economic science of being blind to the evils of unrestricted individualism is absurd in view of the attention devoted to the possibilities of ameliorating social conditions by public interference with private enterprise. The devastating effects of national egoism are no less apparent; no class of men have done as much to warn the world against the dangers of excessive nationalism as professional economists. But the remedies for these national and international evils are in the hands, not of economists, but of statesmen and politicians, and it is unfair to accuse economists of indifference to human suffering because their advice has been disregarded.

However, as we said before, Mr. Hobson, much though he may complain of contemporary economists, cannot escape from being himself included in that noxious class. The best chapters in his new book are those dealing with purely economic subjects, as for example, those on population and monetary reform.

G.O'B.

BRITISH BUDGETS. Second Series, 1913-14 to 1920-21. By Sir Bernard Mallet and C. Oswald George. London: Macmillan. 1929. 20s. net.

SIR Bernard Mallet has performed a very valuable service in publishing a second series of studies of British financial history. The first series, which dealt with the years 1887-1913, has long been recognized as a standard authority, and the same position will doubtless be accorded to the present series. The financial conditions of the war years were so abnormal and call for so much explanation and comment that it was found impossible to include more than ten years in one volume; but a further volume, bringing the study up to date, is in course of preparation. The method of presentation is similar to that used in the earlier series: first, there is a summary of the speeches on the budget each year, followed by detailed budget tables of estimated and realized revenue and expenditure; secondly, some chapters devoted to the authors' notes and comments; and finally, a number of valuable statistical tables covering the whole period.

The book is valuable as a work of reference, but it is even more valuable for the critical matter which it contains. The authors' comments on the financial problems of the war years are full of interest. Attention is drawn to the wonderful elasticity of the British revenue in circumstances of quite unparalleled strain, and it is suggested that taxation should have been increased even more than it acutally was. The general verdict on the government's war financial policy is rather neutral; compared with some of the other belligerents it was excellent, but it was not without serious defects, especially the inflation for which the Treasury was directly responsible. The inflation made it impossible for revenue to keep pace with expenditure, increased the burden of the public debt, and caused much social friction and discontent. The authors think that a mild measure of inflation would have facilitated the transference of the country from its peace-time to its war-time course of production, but they suggest that the process was carried too far. The net effect of the inflation was, in their opinion, definitely bad.

Other matters discussed are the increasing steepness in progressive taxation and the growth of the social services. The great inequality of incomes and the still greater inequality of capital ownership render possible in Great Britain very progressive income taxes and death duties, the proceeds of which are utilized largely for the provision of services for the poor. The growth of the so-called social services was stimulated rather than checked by the war, which demonstrated the great reserves of untapped taxable capacity. The present cost of these services, taken in conjunction with the size of the national debt, is a matter of alarm. An interesting discussion is devoted to the effect of the falling birth rate on the future of British finance. It is pointed out that a practically stationary population will not be capable of yielding a constantly increasing revenue, but that the demand for increasing expenditure will not be correspondingly checked. Indeed expenditure on the social services may be expected to increase owing to the larger number of old people surviving as the result of the falling death rate. The greatest danger for the future lies in the fact that, while policy regarding expenditure will be devised in order to please an electorate based on manhood suffrage, the revenue will be raised in growing proportion from a small section of the community who have no direct political power. G.O'B.

Education

THE PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY. By Nicholas A. Hans, Ph.D. Introduction by Professor J. Dover Wilson, Litt.D. London: P. S. King. 1929. Pp. 192. 6s. net.

Dr. Hans was Director of Education at Odessa while M. Kerensky for a time conducted a Government in some parts of Russia. He has since worked at the British Museum, has graduated in the School of Education at King's College, London, and, in Professor Dover Wilson's cautious introductory phrasing, "has his own point of view, and has chosen to arrange his material under headings which denote what he considers the main problems which arise out of the relations between the State and Schools."

Educators in most lands are well aware that this precise problem, many-headed and protean as are few others, has now become a vital issue all over the civilised world. It is as pressing in China as it is in Russia; it is pervasive in Italy, France, Germany, England; it ramifies into all social, political and cultural areas, cleaves parties, and sunders labour organisations.

Writing in a somewhat hurried style and in a language not his own, Dr. Hans has made a gallant though at times bewildering contribution to this world issue. His book will be useful as a directive instrument; and it is to his credit that his point of view is usually well defined. It is in the aggregation of details from many lands, often stated with sweeping succinctness in half a page, that the reader, and even the professional student of Education, will find the path somewhat thorny.

A few sentences from his chapter on "The State and the Church" will serve to illustrate Dr. Hans's positions :—

> The modern State is a cultural State and not a religious one. It sees its justification in the development of culture, which has an intrinsic value and is an end in itself. The State has no interest in purely denominational instruction, and cannot finance it . . . The State cannot ignore the influence of religion on culture. The History of Religion, the History of the Christian Church, Christian Art and Literature, Christian Morals . . . should be taught in all State Schools to all children without exception, in the same manner as geography . . . by lay teachers appointed by the State . . . irrespective of denomination . . . The Churches should be free to build denominational schools with any curriculum they should deem necessary, maintained entirely by voluntary support, subjected to State inspection. State Universities should contain a Faculty of Theology, undenominational, with lay professors, who would train teachers of religious subjects for the State Schools.

Despite this very definite mental setting, the work of Dr. Hans attains a serviceable objectiveness of exposition, as distinct from comment. The comments can indeed be easily allowed for : and then such comparisons as those between Soviet Russia and the Gentile programmes of 1923 and later for Italy become very illuminating for the careful reader. There is no reason why Dr. Hans should be in love with Soviet Russia ; and in his description of the fate and fortunes of the Dalton Plan, compulsorily introduced by the Soviet State in all Russian schools, his uniformly solemn text becomes diverting in its mournfulness. His acute commentary on Gentile is scattered over five or six chapters : if they were assembled, they would afford a model of terse exposition. It could lead off with this excerpt (p. 25) :—

> The late Minister of Education in Italy, G. Gentile, is a well-known philosopher of the Hegelian School. According to his theory, the Roman Catholic religion is a necessary stage of evolution of the Italian character. Therefore, this particular creed should be taught in all schools. But as the next stage in evolution should be the Hegelian philosophy, in Secondary Schools and Universities the dogmatic teaching of the Roman Catholic Church should be superseded by idealistic philosophy.

It is now easy to see why certain writers in a certain weekly journal published in Dublin were eager in calling attention to Gentile's system of education about five years ago. If Dr. Hans

is displeased (p. 139) with Gentile's attempt to impose Hegelian idealism as a philosophical religion and as a unifying principle in higher education throughout Italy, he is even more displeased with contemporary Russian practice, wherein "the Russian Universities prepare a required number of narrow specialists needed by the State. The syllabus is arranged by the central authorities for all Institutions. The Marxian doctrine is made an official *credo:* all disciplines, including science, have to be taught in accordance with it. All professors, whatever subjects they teach, have to pass an examination in Marxian doctrine before their appointment."

Thus the writer who would impose, as to religion and morals, compulsory instruction by lay teachers trained by a secular state in its secular Faculty of State Theology, is brought round in full circle to face certain real results of his theory, and finds them, and much beside, highly unpalatable. Dr. Hans's outline of modern secularism in education, as to theory and practice, will thus have its value for the professional student, a value with its obvious limitations. These limitations are fully evident in his useful bibliography, which under classified heads covers one aspect of European and American thought in Education.

T.C.

RELIGION UND JUGENDERZIEHUNG IN DEN ENTWICKLUNGSJAHREN. Von Emil Winkler. Herder: Freiburg im Breisgau. 1929. 304 pp. 7.50 M.

The writer happened to be living last year in Germany in a house where closed retreats for schoolboys were given on a large scale. The retreats lasted three days. One day was invariably Sunday. For the second the boys sacrificed their weekly holiday. The third day was engineered as follows: The Ministry of Education allows about eight days in the year to be devoted by the master to the development in his charges of what is called with true German mistiness "Weltanschauung" (Philosophy of Life). It was decided that a day spent in the practice of the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius could conscientiously be reckoned under this heading.

This incident and its implications will help the Irish reader to grasp the *raison d'être* of such a book as Dr. Winkler's. For, though its jacket tells us that it contains both "Grundsätzliches" and "Praktisches," the book contains so much of the former that to an Irish pedagogue or social worker it must seem almost irritatingly theoretical. It attempts (for the first time the

publishers claim) to take a comprehensive view of the proper relations of religion to every department of education in the difficult years of adolescence. The physical and psychological characteristics of adolescence, present-day intellectual movements, after-school organisation, will-training, religious training proper, and the vexed question of sex-instruction are a few of the more outstanding topics touched on. Dr. Winkler's views are sound and moderate, and he has accomplished his task of synthesis well; but, as has been said, the book is too theoretical to be of much use to Irish readers. It should, however, do useful work in Germany. To the average Irishman talk about "Weltanschauung" is, perhaps to his reproach, merely high-brow rubbish. But to the average German, as the incident cited above goes to show, it is deadly earnest. Hence this book, which is a reasoned defence of the part played by religious training and instruction in the development of the adolescent mind and will, should be a valuable contribution to the tide of "Youth-literature" with which Germany is being flooded at present.

One of the best features of this book—certainly the most useful for the non-German reader—is its excellent bibliography of works dealing with the training of youth. F.McG.

FEMMES DE FRANCE. Madame de Maintenon. Par Robert Havard de la Montagne (5e édition). *Les Femmes de Saint Cyr* (trois volumes). Par G. de Reans. Paris: Lethielleux. 1929. 7 frs. chaque volume.

THOUGH they are not principally concerned with the details of school organisation and practice, this sequence of four small volumes will be found to provide, in an admirably terse and clear way, the essential framework for any study of the great and influential school of Saint-Cyr, which for the century 1692-1792 gave a splendid and effective lead in the education of girls in France and wherever French influence extended. During all that period, it may be well maintained that the deplorable weakness of feminine education in England, even for the wealthiest and most intellectual families, had its absolute antithesis in the rapid perfectioning of that education in France. For Saint-Cyr was no isolated, self-contained and self-centered school. It was able to give a direct and most efficacious model to all parts of that great nation. Its pupils went everywhere, taught everywhere in France. It was a great national, cultural, and religious force; and its activities were maintained in undiminished vigour until it was peremptorily closed, and its

revenues and property confiscated for political uses, by the Revolutionary Government. It thus shared the common fate of all the schools of France, primary, secondary, and university grades alike.

Many works of merit, such as that of Emile Faguet, to cite only one example, are available on Madame de Maintenon as an educator and an organiser of schools. But even the best of them has not quite succeeded in placing as it should be placed the Christian wisdom that operated in her great plan, so finely realised. It was the core of her life-work. The central chapters of M. de la Montagne's vivid presentation of her career are the two on her educative aims. They will do their best service, if they lead to the study, in M. de Reans' excellently documented brochures, of the teaching staff of Saint-Cyr for the entire century. For the first time, the successive generations of teachers in a great school with great traditions are made to live. The chronicle is at once personal and corporate ; it is spiritual in its substance, but has ample contact with the world, from the court of Louis XIV, through the Regent, Louis XV, Louis XVI, down to May 1, 1793, when Emmanuele d'Ormenans and Jeanne de Ligondès knelt for the last time at the tomb of the foundress. Ignobly despoiled and scattered under Napoleon, all that was left of that tomb was restored in 1836 by the Commandant of the Military School. A noble record, simply and worthily told.

T.C.

Fiction

THE SWORD BLADE OF MICHAEL. By Cecily Hallack. London : Sands. 1929. 6s. net.

While reading this pleasant little romance a comparison came to my mind which has often come to me before when reading books by converts to the Faith. Born Catholics and converts in their attitude towards the Church may well be compared to two sons, one of whom has remained at home, living always under the same roof as his mother, whilst the other has gone abroad as a boy and returns as a fully-grown man. The boy who is just home had left before he was old enough to bother whether his mother was beautiful or not, and now he returns to find that his mother is the most beautiful and accomplished woman of all their acquaintance. His discovery is frequently voiced. He keeps harping upon her beauty, he takes a pride in seeing her attired in her most beautiful clothes, he likes to draw others into discussions about the relative beauty of women, that he may have the satisfaction of hearing his mother praised. Meanwhile the other brother

listens in a rather bored fashion. He loves his mother of course, because she is his mother, but who wants to talk about such an obvious thing? He treats her at times somewhat unceremoniously, but he would be ready to knock down any man who would say a disparaging word about her. I have drawn out this comparison at some length, because I think it wholesome for both born Catholics and converts to realise that the two brothers love their mother equally deeply.

Thus some readers of Miss Hallack's book will get a bit impatient when Father Michael Gillingham and the very delightful Giovanna get into a discussion on heredity and wind up with the knowledge of God within a few minutes of their first meeting. These readers will feel that the priests they know and the young Catholic girls they know would have probably stopped short at the merits of Shadders, the dog. Other readers will like this sort of thing, and there is no denying that Miss Hallack does it well.

In eight weeks Father Michael put life into a somnolent parish, started a Refuge for the poor, and went back to his monastery leaving one friend engaged to a charming girl and another a prospective Benedictine novice. Few young priests of my acquaintance would undertake to emulate him, but perhaps it is because they have not the vision of that very lovable fiery-headed young monk. At any rate Miss Hallack succeeds quite well in persuading us that he did it. F. McG.

THE ROCKY ROAD. By Bernard Duffy. Dublin: Talbot Press, Ltd. 1929. 5s. net.

THIS book is episodic. Simon O'Hegarty, erstwhile a maker of clay-pipes and afterwards an itinerant peep-show man, "walks along the rocky road playing a tin whistle." In the opening tale we are told, rather pathetically, how the cinema knocks the bottom out of the peep-show business. A charming bronze-haired girl takes charge of the poor old man, in the second chapter, and when he loses his musical instrument sings in the streets by his side to earn for him the money to buy another. The villain of the piece, one Mr. Clenton, now darkens the landscape, flitting across it from time to time until in the last act—or chapter—he is utterly routed. Nora, the bronze-haired beauty, and John Kieran, "a sort of cheap-jack" who "sells second-hand things at fairs," supply the romance which, as is the way with the course of true love in fact and fiction, runs unsmoothly.

One is reminded of the work, the earlier work that is, of Mr. Jack Yeats in these pictures of Irish life in town, village, and

by the countryside. The story of the peep-show (which, by the way, I seem to have read before in a Dublin weekly paper) pleases me best. There are tales of a travelling circus and of a "show-boat" with a meandering opera company; we penetrate into the *Comet* theatre in Dublin and in general are taken on tour through the country, the somewhat slender thread of romance stringing the episodes together.

Mr. Duffy possesses a style of which simplicity is the chief feature. There is something rather old-fashioned about his writing. It belongs to the peep-show period, not to the age of "movies," to say nothing of the "talkies." "Types" and "characters" of the Dickens order abound in his pages, but he is lacking in the humorous sense of that great genius. Perhaps Mr. Duffy deliberately models himself on the famous Victorian novelist. The titles given to his chapters are deliberately "after" a bye-gone mode. Anyhow, the Censors, newly appointed to see that our literary diet is innocuous, will have no difficulty in approving his work, even though things that are evil find mention therein. W. D.

LA CLARTE D'OXFORD. By François Ducand-Bourget. Paris: Alexis Rédier. 1929. 12 frs.

THIS is a very interesting and edifying story of a conversion from Anglicanism—even from a lukewarm Anglicanism—to the Catholic Church, under the triple influence of facts, friends, and love, *à la clarté d'Oxford.* The love is heroic and, so to say, directs the light; but in order to understand the title we must realize how Catholic origins are written in every stone of Oxford, and remember its familiar motto *Dominus illuminatio mea.* The usual arguments are clearly put in conversations and reflections; the Prayer-Book controversy plays an actual part; more subtle perhaps is the consideration of the underlying, undying force of Catholic inspiration in art.

The author also wishes to give us a novel of English life. He is minute in his descriptions of things that often strike foreigners: the rites and ceremonies of English meals, the Englishman's love of his tub, his physical exercises, his games; the monotony, or the cosy prettiness, or the majesty of English dwelling-places according to the fortune of the in-dwellers.

Unfortunately there are minor details which, at least for readers on this side of the English Channel, rather mar the sense of lifelikeness. One is the frequent admixture, or too literal translation, of English words which have perfectly good French

equivalents. Does it really create *atmosphere* to write *corner* for *coin*, *terme* for *trimestre*, and to make one friend call another *vieil homme* instead of *mon vieux* ? And then the names ! To start with, the men all call each other by their Christian names—and there is a non-collegiate student whose landlady calls him *Master Hugh*. In the group of friends are an Othoniel, an Athold, and the hero, Alkmund : so that his fiancée, in a moment of intense emotion which evokes Elvire on the Lake, suddenly calls him Alk ! There is a *Rev. Altmayer*, a *Father Dwyers*. There is, of course, a *Sir Swordson*—where wife is plain *Mrs.* There is a *Lord Carlink*, otherwise *Comte de Deadman ;* and his little son is *Johny*. But this is perhaps one of the misprints, which are far too frequent—such as *decease* for *disease*, and *cokney*.

The author writes throughout on a high spiritual plane ; so it is all the sadder that we are thus perpetually distracted from the realisation of his lofty purpose. M. R.

History

A PAGE OF IRISH HISTORY. Story of University College, Dublin, 1883-1909. By Fathers of the Society of Jesus. Dublin : Talbot Press. 1930. 21s. net.

Quidquid Delirant Reges. While reading in this book of the contests between Newman and the Bishops, or between Dr. Delany and Dr. Walsh, men of inconsistent ideals—with the British government ever a third party in the quarrel—one cannot help thinking of the ten thousand Catholics who lost their chance of higher education in the almost sixty years that intervened between the founding of the Catholic and the National Universities. When Dr. Delany did succeed in getting even a small stream really running at University College, which mingled its waters with the stream of Catholic medicals at Cecilia Street, the results were astonishing. In fact they frightened and to a certain extent engulfed Dr. Delany himself, as is shown by the history of the struggle for essential or compulsory Irish here detailed. The Republic and the Free State alike owe their origin to the small class rooms and baize-covered tables at Stephen's Green, even to the night classes held there.

It is pleasanter however to step aside from the elaborate discussions of the University Question contained in the book and to consider rather the life of the College itself, as therein set forth. This life falls into two clearly defined periods, and an epilogue. Dr. Delany's first period with William Magennis,

and his second period with Kettle, for its central figures; and the Cruise O'Brien epilogue. Father Thomas Finlay is the great force in the background. The second of these epochs (the Kettle one) is that to which the polluted genius of James Joyce has given world fame. Yet he has done so by insisting on the unchastity of a very small group. The students as a whole were probably the most chaste body of lay students ever assembled anywhere. The Magennis period was before my time. With Donovan, Howley, and his own rival Coyne, all of them derivatives of Father Finlay, the beginnings of the intellectual life of the College were laid. The amazing story of Thomas Arnold is here related. We who attended the not very inspiring lectures of the old man on English literature in the late Nineties scarcely realised that such a history lay behind Newman's old professor.

Then comes a time which I just remember, when everything was sacrificed to examinations success. But with the return of Father Delany in 1897, an extraordinary florescence of college life came about; in fact the College became the nursery of heroes, literary men, and politicians in an astonishing degree. Kettle was all this time looked on by the students themselves as their leader. All the names are set forth in this book, and they are very nearly the names of those Irishmen who have attained fame in the past twenty years. The age of Kettle culminated in the capture of the university organ, to prevent its playing "God Save the King." The brief and stormy period of Cruise O'Brien followed. The last years were occupied with the struggle for Compulsory Irish in the New University just then coming into being. Both episodes are here vividly set out. It is astonishing how many of the actors in these episodes are now dead and famous. Earl Meath, Dr. Delany, Patrick Pearse, Cruise O'Brien, Kettle, Dr. Madden, Sheehy-Skeffington.

Separate chapters relate the history of college journalism and of religious exercises in the College. The college papers were *The Lyceum*, *St. Stephen's* and later *Hermes*, all of high but somewhat different literary merit. The *New Ireland Review* may also be counted as practically a college journal. The history of the Library Conference, a sort of Theological Society, is also fully given. The two most enduring things in the College proved to be the Literary and Historical Society, which was older than it, and the Choral Union which also survived it. Professor O'Dwyer has been the musical director of the Choral Union all these years.

The College had, like most Irish university institutions save one, a life of just under thirty years, when it was merged in the better endowed and much better housed and equipped National University. All that the Jesuits had for their trouble was three or four professorships in the New University, and such consolation as comes from having done a good work. One sometimes wonders whether the University Question has yet attained a final settlement, or whether in another ten years or so the National will not, like all its predecessors, find itself merged, in turn, in some new foundation that will seek to meet the aspirations of a later day. If, on the other hand, it survives to celebrate the centenary of Catholic higher education in 1954, its life will probably be long. At least those aspirations, whatever they are, must take into account the great demand for education on the part of Catholics, which Father Delany was almost the first to recognise, and meet, and of which the National University, coming after him and working on his foundation, has so successfully availed. A. E. C.

THE SOURCES FOR THE EARLY HISTORY OF IRELAND. An Introduction and Guide. Vol. I Ecclesiastical. By James F. Kenney. New York : Columbia University Press. London : Humphrey Milford. 1929. Pp. xvi+807. 63s. net.

THIS volume has been edited, under the auspices of the Department of History of Columbia University, by James F. Kenney, Ph.D., Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. It is the first of two volumes in which the editor undertakes to provide students of early Irish history with an authoritative guide to the sources, so far at least as they have been made available in print. This volume deals with matters predominantly ecclesiastical from the dawn of Irish history down to the year 1200. The profane literature of Ireland during the same period will be treated in another volume that is to follow.

Dr. Kenney's book gives ample testimony to his extensive reading and varied scholarship, and it may be said at once that he has produced a guide to Irish history that is replete with learning and thoroughly trustworthy.

A short description of the contents of the book will enable our readers to form an idea of the wealth of information to be found in it. After a brief general survey of Irish history Dr. Kenney gives in chronological order all known documents dealing with the following points : references to Ireland in foreign writers from the earliest times to A.D. 700 ; the relations of Ireland with the

Continent from the fourth to the seventh century, the introduction of Christianity, the Paschal question, Irish canons and Penitentials ; the monastic development from the sixth to the twelfth century, early monastic foundations, the Céle Dé movement, Armagh and its *paruchia*, treatises on the Irish Saints, Martyrologies, lives of saints ; the expansion of Irish Christianity on the Continent, Perona Scottorum, S. Gallen, Bobbio, the circle of Sedulius, Irish scholars at the French court, John Scottus Eriugena, the Irish colony at Laon and Rheims ; the ecclesiastical culture and religious literature of Ireland, biblical, classical and intellectual studies in Irish monastic schools, books on liturgical subjects for the use of bishops and priests at Mass, divine office and sacramental services, hymns, prayers, books of private devotions, other literary productions of a homiletic, imaginative and apocryphal character ; and finally the reform movement of the twelfth century, the reorganization of the episcopate and the introduction of foreign religious orders.

Every document bearing on these numerous questions is catalogued according to its known or approximate date. Exact references are given to the manuscripts where the originals are preserved, the printed editions in which they are to be found, and the articles of competent scholars dealing with them that have appeared in Irish, German, French and English reviews. In this way the history of close on 700 documents has been exhaustively set forth.

Though it would be too much to expect that everyone will agree with Dr. Kenney's dating and evaluation of every document he has listed, and a tendency to underestimate the antiquity of some is occasionally noticeable, yet his impartiality and objectivity are undeniable. His work, therefore, can be recommended without hesitation. It puts the student immediately in touch with the best and latest opinions of Irish scholars on many an obscure and disputed point. It is the work of a scholar for scholars, indispensable for anyone who ventures into the field of early Irish ecclesiastical history. JOHN MACERLEAN.

CAMBRIDGE MEDIAEVAL HISTORY. Edited by J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton and Z. N. Brooke. Vol. VI. Victory of the Papacy. Cambridge University Press. 1929. 50s.

No adequate review of this volume is at all possible. Its twenty five chapters cover far too wide a range. Moreover, in fairness to the Editors, this sixth volume needs to be read in close con-

nection with its immediate predecessor—the *Contest of the Empire and the Papacy*—for the two have evidently been planned as a single whole. Mr. Austin Lane Poole, for example, has a connected story to tell of German history from the reign of Henry IV to the long interregnum that followed the death of Frederic II; but the story is evenly divided between the two volumes. And Mr. Reade's chapter on Political Theory in the present volume is the logical sequel to his chapter on Mediaeval Philosophy in Volume V. Other subjects that might naturally be looked for in this volume, where mediaeval civilisation is shown in its most complete form, have already been treated in full in the earlier volume, a logical having been preferred to a chronological order. The whole of the Crusading movement, for example, is described in Volume V; and a noteworthy chapter in the same volume—by Professor Hazeltine on Roman and Canon Law—carries the story on to 1300 and even later. No one can fairly criticise these subdivisions as the proof of faulty editing; but they do not add to the reviewer's comfort.

In general, from the Catholic point of view, both these volumes mark a welcome step forward to a more just appreciation of the mediaeval Papacy. To cite one conspicuous example, Mr. Brooke's two chapters on Gregory VII and Henry IV tell the story of St. Gregory's heroic struggle for reform with evident sympathy and understanding. Yet even here M. Fliche's two volumes, published in the *Spicilegium Lovaniense*, just after the appearance of Volume V, place St. Gregory's great work in a truer perspective. What we miss in the *Cambridge Mediaeval History* is a careful analysis of the theological principles on which alone Gregory VII based his stupendous claims. And the same defect is apparent in the more recent volume. Dr. Previté-Orton's able Introduction to Volume VI is a fine bit of historical criticism as well as a fine piece of writing in itself; but the opening chapter on Innocent III, by Dr. Jacob of Manchester, is perhaps the most disappointing in the whole series. Surely here, if anywhere, a single personality stands as a type of the age in which he lived, and which he dominated throughout an all-important Pontificate. But Dr. Jacob is not in sympathy with his subject, and loses himself in an analysis of the legal and diplomatic methods by which Pope Innocent achieved success. It is all very accurate and painstaking; but we look for something better as an introduction to so great an age.

Once the narrative begins, it is inevitably shared among the various nations of Europe, and—as inevitably—more than one scholar has been invited to tell the tale. But surely there

is a limit to this process of divided labour. Neither Innocent III nor Frederic II—the two chief protagonists of the final contest that ends in Papal victory—are treated as a single whole. In the Pope's case this is intelligible enough, for he appears as a main actor in almost every chapter of the volume. But surely the career of Frederic II, most fascinating of all the German Emperors, need not have been divided between an English and an Italian scholar. One result of this subdivision is that Innocent III is viewed almost entirely from the point of view of his critics. His action in determining the choice between three rival candidates to the crown in Germany is told from the German point of view alone by Mr. Lane Poole, for whom Innocent III is " a relatively honest man " ; and Dr. Michelangelo Schipa portrays the Emperor as the champion of Italian unity against two more or less unscrupulous Popes. On the other hand Professor Powicke writes finely of the England that won Magna Charta from King John and of the Pope's policy towards one of the least glorious of mediaeval monarchs. And Professor Powicke also tells the tale of increasing unity and central government in the France of Philip Augustus and Louis VIII. The same tale is told by specialists for the minor countries of the mediaeval world—Spain, Scandinavia, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary. Ireland has neither chapter nor subsection in this elaborate volume. Has her complicated history been reserved for another volume ? Or has Cambridge learnt nothing from Professor MacNeill and Professor Curtis ? At any rate simple omission is better than the contemptuous page and half with which Ireland was dismissed by Mrs. Doris M. Stenton (of University College, Reading) in volume V.

But the history of thirteenth century Europe is, thank God, more than a political or diplomatic story ; and the supplementary chapters at the end of the volume carry the mind further afield. One chapter in particular is sure of a warm welcome from Catholic readers—Dr. A. G. Little's account of the Mendicant Orders. The late Dr. Rashdall writes with great learning on the mediaeval Universities ; and Dr. E. W. Watson's account of ecclesiastical organisation and finance is full of interesting matter, but is marred by the quiet assumption that the local bishoprics take precedence of the Papacy in the essential structure of the Church. More stimulating by far is Mr. Reade's chapter on mediaeval political theory. Once again, dates are here more or less ignored, and Dante's *De Monarchia* is analysed in full. Mr. Reade shows no knowledge of M. Rivière's fine work, *L'Eglise et l'Etat au temps*

de Philippe le Bel, with its careful analysis of major and minor writers on this most controversial of topics. M. Rivière certainly makes Dante's theory more intelligible than does Mr. Reade, for the simple reason that he is careful to place it in its true philosophical setting, and has a wider knowledge of the contemporary literature. But Mr. Reade is always worth taking as a travelling companion through the Middle Ages. His earlier chapter on the development of mediaeval philosophy, published in volume V, is perhaps a more characteristic example of his critical powers. John of Salisbury plainly attracts him more than does Aquinas or Albertus Magnus, though he recognises the lack of true intellectual power in the English dilettante. And his judgment on Roger Bacon, for so long an *ignis fatuus* to English students of mediaeval thought, shows that scholastic intellectualism is coming to be valued at its true worth in England.

Yet, in spite of a brilliant style, an independent, personal note that is the proof of wide reading, and a singularly unprejudiced mind, Mr. Reade's estimate of mediaeval philosophy as a whole is the estimate of a gifted amateur. The *Cambridge Mediaeval History* is planned as an international work. Could the Editors not have found some Catholic scholar on the Continent, whose training and intellectual sympathies would have better fitted him for a task which, after all, is vital for the success of any History, planned as this History is planned, as an estimate of the epoch as a whole? And the same question recurs with even greater force as a criticism of the chapter which Professor Alexander Thompson has contributed to this volume on the doctrine of the Fourth Lateran Council. Here knowledge of Catholic theology as a whole is essential, and it would be easy to name a dozen scholars abroad who would have brought to the task a far richer learning than is apparent in the chapter here published. Professor Thompson has contented himself with an easy-going acceptance of current theories as to the development of Catholic doctrine throughout the ages. To take two obvious examples: his statement of the doctrine of Papal authority lacks any clear definition of what is meant by the terms he uses, and calmly ignores the patristic evidence apart from the claims of the early Popes themselves. And the statement of sacramental doctrine is as unsatisfactory. Professor Thompson has evidently been at pains to study the controversies immediately preceding the Council of 1215, but he rashly commits himself to a general view of early Catholic doctrine on Penance and the Eucharist; and, to put it mildly, his statements do not command confidence. Shall

we ever see the day when Catholic scholars will be recognised as competent in matters which concern the Faith ? A. G.

A HISTORY OF EGYPT. From the Earliest Times to the End of the XVIIIth Dynasty. By James Baikie. Two Volumes. London : A. & C. Black. 1929. 36s. net.

The production of a history of Ancient Egypt on the scale of this work was a necessary and praiseworthy enterprise, and Mr. Baikie is an experienced writer of popular books on a variety of archaeological subjects. It is to be feared, however, that in this case he has set himself too heavy a task. His work is either too large and detailed for the amateur, or too amateurish for the specialist. He knows the modern English authorities on ancient Egypt very well, but makes it pretty clear that he lacks the one essential requisite for controlling them—a knowledge of Egyptian. At any rate, if he does know Egyptian, his attitude in face of diverging translations of the same documents is singularly unhelpful. A crucial case is the famous stele of Senusret III at Semneh. Dr. H. R. Hall makes the king apostrophise his descendants in vigorous and almost sarcastic language. " My Majesty has put up my statue at this frontier, not from any desire that ye should worship it, but that ye should fight for it." Mr. Baikie adopts an older translation : " in order that ye might be encouraged because of it and that ye might fight for it." He does indeed advert to Dr. Hall's rendering, but gives no guidance as to which is the more probable. The reader who pays thirty-six shillings for this book has the right to expect such guidance.

Mr. Baikie's translations, from whatever source derived, are uniformly apt to be verbose and uninspiring. In the same inscription of Senusret III occurs a phrase which Dr. Hall renders (*Cambridge Ancient History, I*, p. 308) : " I am the king, and what I say I do." Mr. Baikie's version is much inferior : " I am the king who speaks and executes." In this case specialist and amateur alike will feel free to vote for Dr. Hall. Another example of the frigid is Mr. Baikie's version of King Thothmes III's General Order to his troops before Megiddo : " Equip yourselves ! Prepare your weapons ! for we shall advance to fight with that wretched foe in the morning ! " This may be the sense of what the great conqueror said, but it looks as if it had been transmitted to us by way of some Egyptian equivalent of Kelly's Keys to the Classics.

The converging disabilities of too much space and too little specialised knowledge have left their mark on nearly every page of

Mr. Baikie's book. A specialist might well fill many thousand pages with what he knows about Ancient Egypt. An amateur trying to fill eight hundred finds that there are many long tracts on which the specialists have amassed but little knowledge. Mr. Baikie tends to eke out his resources with critical and philosophical pronouncements which often strike the ear as garrulous or trifling. Instances are his condemnation of Mycerinus because his pyramid is smaller than that of Cheops; his many gibes at Civil Service ways, of which he has the typical twopenny journalist's alleged horror; his comparisons, as of Pepi I's general with Marbot, of VII—Xth Dynasty feudatories with Bolsheviks, of Sinuhe with Alan Breck, and, perhaps best of all, of King Neferhotep with an Anglo-Catholic. His comments on the defacement of Hatshepsut's inscriptions by her successor are of a similar order, and in fact many other instances might easily be given, because his method regularly is to intersperse such pseudo-criticism, often of a frigidly facetious variety, among long quotations from translated documents.

It will be seen that on serious matters where judgment is necessary, Mr. Baikie is not very likely to be a safe guide. So with the crucial problem of chronology, on which all Egyptian history depends. Mr. Baikie evidently would like to follow Petrie's long chronology as against the shorter scheme of Eduard Meyer (whose name he spells Mayer), but is not abreast of most recent work on the subject, and in any case has not the courage to plump for either side with decision. Thus he is everywhere uncertain on this most important matter. The reader will not readily follow so doubtful a guide in other matters of controversy, such as the inner meaning of the Akhnaten episode or the exact relationship between Thothmes III and his remarkable predecessor. Altogether, while anxious to see more popular presentations of a subject which has evidently caught the popular fancy, we would rather urge the student to read the masterly chapters on Egypt in the early volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

M. T.

HISTOIRE DE L'EGLISE. Tome I. *L'Antiquité Chrétienne.* Par A.-M. Jacquin. Paris: Editions de la Revue des Jeunes. 1929. 50 fr.

OF making Histories of the Church there is no end. The nine volumes of Mourret stand on the shelves of my library in the sober binding that becomes such a work. The last of them was published in 1921, and one should have thought that nobody,

least of all a Frenchman, would have entertained the idea of writing a History of the Church for at least a generation to come. And yet already Père Jacquin hardily launches upon us the first large volume of yet another *Histoire de l'Eglise*. This first volume brings us to the middle of the fifth century, and there is no indication of how many more are to come. Why do people keep on telling us, in the face of such evidence, that giants no longer walk the earth ?

The causes of Père Jacquin's industry are not so apparent as its results. In his *pages liminaires* (the phrase is his own, and hints at the spaciousness of his design) he tells us that he is writing "*au grand public catholique, surtout aux jeunes gens et aux prêtres du ministère qui cherchent une Histoire de l'Eglise, suffisamment informée et d'une lecture aisée.*" He is not unmindful of the works of his predecessors in the same field, but thinks there is room for something shorter and built on a different plan. He has certainly given us in this volume a clear presentation of the first centuries of the Church's complicated history ; he has his matter well in hand ; and although the field is vast we never lose our bearings. Footnotes are reduced to a minimum, references being inserted in the text, and at the end of each chapter we have a short but good bibliography. The result of all this is a bulky volume, and if Père Jacquin is not to rival Mourret in length he will have to be sparing of his words.

For the orderly and clear presentation of facts there can be nothing but admiration. With the amount of space given to different parts of the story one might perhaps quarrel, but this is largely a matter of outlook. Thus I should have liked a little more about the persecutions, which are summarily dismissed—the persecution of Decius, for instance, in a page and a half, without even a reference to St. Cyprian's vivid picture of its ravages. The Popes and the Papacy are seldom mentioned, but of course there is more in store for us.

Père Jacquin is clearly more interested in movements than in men, and often we miss the pulse of human interest in the story. Arianism in all its ramifications bulks largely in his pages, and if we hear much of St. Athanasius it is only because of his conflicts with heresy. St. Jerome gets short shrift, and even when he is speaking of St. Augustine it is clear that the author is far more concerned about Manichaeism, Donatism and Pelagianism than about the man who dealt them such crushing blows. The death of Augustine in Hippo, with the Vandals clamouring at the gates, makes no appeal to his imagination, and the bald

phrase "*la mort survint le 28 août 430 ; il avait soixante-seize ans,*" brings us up with an unpleasant jerk, as when the train stops suddenly.

A synchronized table of Popes and Emperors up to the year 460, two good indexes, and a fairly long though not exhaustive list of *errata* complete the book. But oh ! the labour of cutting these 698 pages ! T.A.J.

THE CATHOLIC QUESTION, 1688-1829. Philip Hughes. London : Sheed and Ward. 1929. 7s. 6d. net.

THE celebration of the Catholic Emancipation Centenary saw the publication of much good work discussing that event from the Catholic point of view. But the book under review is perhaps the most valuable contribution to our knowledge that it has yet inspired. The author has rightly chosen to treat the anti-catholic code which was repealed in 1829 as part of a much wider system, one which embraced the whole political and social order of the nations involved. Politics are often referred to as a somewhat sordid pursuit, with little more bearing on the life of the soul and mind than, let us say, the breeding of race-horses. The thesis of this volume is based on the maintenance of the exact opposite, namely, that Government, good or bad, eventually modifies to its own likeness all the institutions which gradually but effectively form the character and the mind of a people. The Penal Code is seen as the fruit of a tree from which no good thing was to be expected.

The opening chapters tell of the way in which a small and intimately related group of parvenu nobles secured exclusively for themselves and their caste the power and patronage of three kingdoms. Long after Emancipation Greville confided to his diary a fear that the House of Lords would soon cease to be the predominant partner in the State ; but throughout the period with which this book deals the fear was seldom expressed and certainly not realised. The early pages describe conditions of unscrupulous and shameless jobbery almost Gilbertian. But the abuses of the social system which were allowed to flourish through all the earlier stages of the Industrial Revolution are too enormous to be in the least amusing. To a government so lacking any sense of justice religion could mean little but one more device for defrauding and subjecting the unprivileged classes. The first part of the book, which shows this corrupt Ascendancy in uncontrolled power and describes the life of the Catholics it ruled,

is at once least familiar and most valuable. At the same time the reaction of the Emancipation movement is adequately sketched.

The style in which the book is written is very pleasant, avoiding on the one hand the old dry-as-Guiccardini manner and on the other the new hysterical-as-Ludwig tone so fashionable at the moment. The general argument is illustrated at every point with concrete, abundant and sometimes ironical or piquant detail. It is a thoughtful piece of work, displaying as a whole a fine measure of moderation, judgment and fair-mindness. Perhaps the author has allowed himself to be mastered by a common fault in the historian of a special period, who is apt to think the age he treats more different from all others than it really is. Riches, honours and corruption in high places have been the peculiar shame of no time or clime. Perhaps too the author is inclined to belittle or to miss the achievements of what in arts, in literature, in the sciences and in many other ways was a great age, comparable with the great aristocratic ages of Roman expansion or Venetian preeminence. On occasion a suspicion of religious bias shows. The Protestant clergy are stigmatised as the harshest magistrates on the bench or as "blessing" the exploitation of Labour, which was the arch crime of the century. Such charges are both vague and general, and while they may well be true of individuals one would like strong proofs before accepting them about any large class. Little or no such proof is offered.

On the whole, however, the book is not only sound, scholarly and well documented, but generous in spirit. It is generous to the reader too, in as much as a large subject has been condensed into a small space and produced in a form so cheap and convenient as to be a real achievement for both author and publisher.

M. B.

Philosophy

LA THÉORIE DE LA CONNAISSANCE DANS LA PHILOSOPHIE DE MALEBRANCHE. Par L. Bridet. Paris: Rivière. 1929. Pp. 367. 30 fr.

THE revived interest in the study of Malebranche is evidenced by several recent studies of his philosophy, especially those by H. Gouhier and previous studies by the writer of the present book. This interest attaches partly to the time in which Malebranche lived, the clash of old and new systems giving a fresh stimulus to active philosophical discussion. Malebranche's system is important as a new attempt to build up a Christian

philosophy, this time not on the foundations of Plato or Aristotle, but of Descartes. It is interesting, further, as putting Descartes' principles to an acid test. Different as was Malebranche's outlook from Spinoza's, both systems, along different lines, showed the direction in which the new philosophy logically led. His philosophy is also of great interest as an almost unique type of system, in which the attitude of the mystic is blended with that of the geometrician. His writings are, in addition, characterised by great earnestness of thought, purity of style, and subtle, though not always exact argumentation. In his discussions on the senses, imagination and memory, he reveals his gift of accurate observation, and forestalls later developments on association of ideas.

M. Bridet's scholarly work gives a minute and systematic analysis of Malebranche's theory of knowledge, expounding the theory from within with profuse quotations, and not giving much criticism or discussion. The theory synthesizes in original fashion elements from Descartes and St. Augustine. Descartes' dualism of soul and body is taken over in still sharper form, so that no action of the one on the other is possible. From Descartes he takes also his geometrical view of the universe: secondary qualities being merely subjective and bodies being merely determinations of extension. St. Augustine's exemplarism he transforms into his vision of ideas in God, and fits this into the Cartesian setting by his peculiar doctrine of 'intelligible extension.' The latter he elevates into a divine perfection. In this he thought he was doing nothing else than carrying out the principles of Augustine and St. Thomas. It was unfortunate that when Spinoza's posthumous work, the *Ethica*, was later published, similar language was used, though in a totally different sense. Malebranche was, accordingly, involved in much controversy. The clearing up of the disputed question of the different phases of Malebranche's thought in regard to the doctrine of 'intelligible extension' is one of the merits of the present book. Another feature of the work is the light thrown on Malebranche's position by the careful analysis of the material in the correspondence with his pupil Mairan; the latter's incisive criticisms bringing out the weakness and at the same time the inner logic of Malebranche's view.

J.S.

LA NOTION DE SUBSTANCE. Essai historique et critique sur le développement des doctrines d'Aristote à nos jours. Par Régis Jolivet. Paris : Beauchesne. 1929. Pp. 335. 50 fr.

In this work the varying solutions of the problem of substance are followed out in detail. This problem is so fundamental in Metaphysics, and ramifies into so many issues, that its discussion gives a cross-section through the history of philosophy. The book is critical as well as historical : it shows the factors which provided the setting for the problem in each case, weighs the different systems against each other, and subjects each to a searching criticism. It is both compact and complete. The salient features of the different theories are selected with great skill from the extensive materials studied. Not every system is discussed, but only those that provide typical solutions. The recent philosophers dealt with are those of French nationality—Renouvier, Lachelier, Hamelin, Bergson.

After a condensed account of Aristotle's view, M. Jolivet gives a full and careful analysis of the treatment of the question by St. Thomas, showing how in his doctrine the different elements of the problem are held together in perfect balance. Here justice is done to the unity of the individual, the continuity of change, the intelligibility of the real. This balance is disturbed in Duns Scotus through his different view of abstraction. With the Nominalism of Occam and his followers the question of substance and accidents becomes profoundly altered, and the way is paved for the advance of Empiricism. The theses of Nicholas of Autricuria almost verbally anticipate Hume. Suarez is a conciliator of the old doctrines and the modern trend ; but with his theory of matter as having an actuation independently of form, his looser view of the unity of the individual, and the greater independence assigned to accidents, he prepares the way for Descartes. The latter's view is examined at great length. It is shown to lead to the dilemma : if substance is distinct from accidents, it is something detached from them, and so, unintelligible ; if it is identical with the accidents, the latter become substantial. Thus, both Idealist metaphysicians, and anti-Metaphysical Empiricists trace their parentage to Descartes. For two things Descartes is praised : for the *Cogito* and the grounding of the intelligibility of the universe on the veracity of God. The former gives an anchorage for Metaphysics which the author seems to think, is safe and sufficient. It is the one case in which we get a direct concrete intuition of substantial existence. Apart from this privileged case, Metaphysics is a

discursive analysis of being. The other doctrine of Descartes, if amended in the sense that things are intelligible because they are a realization of the Thought of God, becomes an integral part of theory of knowledge. It may be remarked that not all Scholastics would agree with either of these two views.

Spinoza, Leibniz, Locke, Hume, Malebranche, Berkeley, and Kant are in turn examined. It is not difficult to show that their systems fail to do justice to the factors of the problem. A sympathetic examination of the recent French Idealisms finds similar results. A kindly view is taken of Bergson. Beneath the Ionic rhythm of his metaphysics of pure duration, one can hear the Doric rhythm of his doctrine of intuition of real concrete unities.

The bugbear of most attacks on substance has been the notion of it as an inert substrate detached from the accidents. The historical factors which led to this misconception are traced in this essay. It is due mainly to a substitution of the image for the intellectual notion, and to a misunderstanding of the nature of abstraction.

The Thomistic view is shown to hold the true balance between Empiricism and Idealism. It is a Realism which is also an Idealism. "Les choses ne sont accessibles à l'esprit que parce qu'elles participent toutes à l'esprit; elles sont la pensée divine proposée à la pensée finie." J.S.

Poetry

THE REAL RHYTHM IN ENGLISH POETRY. By Katharine M. Wilson, M.A., PH.D. Aberdeen: The University Press. 1929. 7s. 6d. net.

THE question of rhythm resolves itself into three subordinate questions: (1) What is rhythm in itself? (2) What is the motive of the rhythmical impulse in artists? (3) If this motive be to represent emotion, how does rhythm fulfil this function? Few will dispute, in answer to the first question, that rhythm may be defined as disciplined movement, and that its discipline depends on the repetition of a pattern or foot, varied indefinitely so long as the variations represent or at least suggest the original. Here opinions divide, but many will still agree, from the analysis of their own experience, that this pattern depends on both time and stress, so that each of its repetitions occupies *approximately* the same time and contains the same number of stresses, though these be not all of equal force.

The rest is undiscovered country. I have just suggested that the motive and function of rhythm is to convey, as best it can, emotion *sub propria specie*. Words represent ideas ; they can also represent our *idea* of an emotion. But rhythm is an effort to sensibilize externally the emotion as it is in itself, especially its continuity as a static background to a moving pageant of ideas. Probably, unlike words, it is rather a natural than a conventional symbol of what it represents. The reason is comprised in the answer to our third question. For one surmises that rhythm represents emotion by recalling subconsciously to us a typical cause of such emotion and elevating this into a symbol. Thus the galloping of a horse causes exhilaration ; so does an anapaestic rhythm, because it vaguely suggests galloping. But this is only the most probable of many hitherto unproven conjectures.

Miss Wilson's valuable book endorses many points in this theory. It does not advance a comprehensive theory, because it takes no account of the conclusions of rational psychology, and experimental psychology alone is but a blunt scalpel with which to effect the vivisection of the human soul. Nevertheless her main principles that rhythm is a physical expression of spiritual experience, and that it has exactly the same essence in music and in verse (in dancing, too, she might have added) impress one both by their truth and their courageous independence of fashionable views. Her further contention, however, that the right way to scan verse is by musical notation, is arguable. The objection of the modern school of Greek prosodists to this, it is true, is based on ignorance of music. They might not have forsaken scansion by notation had they realised the possibility of cross-rhythms or superimposed rhythms. Even in an unharmonized melody, one rhythmic period may begin before another is finished (witness the fourth bar of No. 11 of Mendelssohn's *Lieder*, and frequently in Brahms), and this is a characteristic device of the Aeolic measure.

But the method is open to this more serious objection : rhythm is essential to music and not to poetry. Music founds its significance on rhythm, verse upon words, though rhythm intensifies the significance of the words. Music hence ceases to be significant if it admits all the variations that are legitimate in verse—to say nothing of prose, which at its best restricts true rhythm to the clausulae. Now instrumental music (*essential* music) only became possible with the invention of *musica mensurata*, which depends on the strict mathematical time- proportion of note to note. Words, on the other hand, cannot be made naturally to bear strict mathematical time-proportion to each

other. Hence a crochet followed by two quavers or semiquavers cannot really represent a dactyl. It is useless to urge the indetermination of the time-values of notes in plain-chant, because plain-chant makes nonsense if heard apart from the words. It is useless, too, to argue from *tempo rubato* in performance, because this implies a quickening or slackening of the *whole* measure, not an arbitrary cropping of individual notes. Miss Wilson may not get her theory accepted, therefore, but her book is one that must be reckoned with by all future theorists of rhythm.

A. L.

PROMETHEUS AND OTHER POEMS. By Mary Devenport O'Neill. London: Jonathan Cape. 1929. 5s.

ONE feature of catch-penny literature (say, the second-best novels written to-day) is that it purports to be provocative and only contrives to be provoking. This book is sincere and not catch-penny; it is provocative and not provoking. For it provokes not contention but a heightened awareness of life. I do not say it is great poetry. Indeed one of the engaging things about it is the poet's acceptance of her limitations, so that she realises her high talent without attempting too much. The two dramatic lyrics and the group of short poems that compose the volume are records of fleeting impressions scrupulously embodied in verse, but they lack that fervour that would make her wandering moods significant of the whole outlook and character of the writer. They are impersonal experiences, detached from the mind that conceived them, and so are necessarily limited in their suggestiveness. They look at life through a narrow porthole, confining the glance firmly to one object, not as one who, looking from a mountain, sees indeed one thing explicitly but is yet aware of its environs even to the horizon. Yet they are, nevertheless, in their own elfen way, significant and lovely as the loveliest intaglio.

The longer poems are valuable, not perhaps for great urgency of thought or dramatic power or organic unity, but certainly because their parts are everywhere replete with a minuteness of insight even beyond that of the detached lyrics. They should be set to music by Mr. Delius. It remains to be said that some of the impressions of Irish life ring strange, but not deliberately false; and also that the metre, with its steady iambic beat through all the variations of line-length, its fitful rhymes and assonances, seems often shapeless, but it is at least unobtrusive and adequate for expressing the poetic content which is the real business of

the writer. The following poem illustrates and indeed expressly betrays the method :—

STRAY THOUGHTS

Stray thoughts will never stop, but cross my mind
Rustling its surface till it's like a pool
Blown by a little wind.
Pictures that grow
Down where it's smooth and cool
Are broken by the thoughts that go
Across the surface like a little wind.

A.L.

Social Science

THE POPE AND THE PEOPLE. London : C.T.S. 1929. 2s. net.

CATHOLIC SOCIAL PRINCIPLES. By Lewis Watt, S.J. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1929. 1s. 6d. net.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE DESTITUTE. By John O'Grady. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. New York : Macmillan. 1929. 4s. net.

THE MORAL LAW OF THE FAMILY. By Abbé Méline. London : Sands. 1929. 3s. 6d. net.

SINCE men live in groups which fit into one another, like a jig-saw puzzle, to form the whole body politic, the questions arise, What are the functions proper to these groups ? How are they related to each other, and to the authority which is responsible in a peculiar way for the common good as a whole ? These questions and the problems which they evoke are called compendiously the Social Question ; and to this Question the Catholic Church and Catholic authors have given much attention in recent times. The four books just mentioned merit careful reading by those who want to know and understand the Catholic answer.

The C.T.S. of England as long ago as 1902 had published a collection of papal pronouncements on the Social Question. The present edition omits some of the contents of previous editions and adds later addresses and encyclicals, notably the pronouncements of Benedict XV on Peace and War and the famous Encyclical " Ubi Arcano Dei " of the reigning Pope. The translation has been carefully revised ; and an index makes this edition easy to handle as a book of reference. In these letters, addresses and encyclicals Catholics will find firm and authoritative guidance in regard to principles which statesmen, employers, heads of families and wage-earners must endeavour to apply in concrete circumstances.

Father Lewis Watt's book is a careful commentary on Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical *Rerum Novarum.* In the course of his commentary the author deals with the Marxian theory of class war, with the right to form associations within the state, with wages and hours of labour, with private property, and with the intervention of the state in matters which belong properly to other social groups. For the most part, Father Watt avoids arguments which are open to question, and confines himself to those with which nearly all Catholic thinkers would agree. The book, therefore, states Catholic tendencies and the reasons on which they are based, in a clear, pleasant style.

Dr. O'Grady deals with one aspect of the Social Question—the claims the destitute have upon our resources and the various methods adopted by Catholics and others to alleviate the hardships of poverty. This is a well-informed and judicious book. It gives sound guidance to everyone interested in Catholic Social Action ; and priests in particular would derive great advantage from reading it. Dr. O'Grady shows how modern Liberal doctrines developed out of Calvinism and Protestantism, and how the Catholic Church alone has preserved the Christian tradition of charity and social justice. The chapter on the "Laity and Catholic Charities" is fearless in its criticism of clerical reluctance to permit lay co-operation in apostolic work. Members of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul will find in this book an edifying account of the spirit and meaning of their Society.

The Abbé Méline, whose book has been translated by Rev. Dr. Patrick Browne, writes on the function and duties of another particular group. He deals with the Family, the primitive cell of human society. The subject is complex and difficult, but the Abbé Méline addresses himself to all the main issues. The chapters on birth-control and education of children are particularly sensible and helpful. He understands the serious burdens which married persons are called upon to bear, and his discussion of their duties is, therefore, always touched with sympathy. His book, in consequence, should enjoy a wide circulation among educated Catholics who are charged with the responsibility of maintaining a home.

These four books make extremely pleasant reading, because they are so balanced and restrained in judgment, contain so much that is excellent, and so little that calls for disagreement on the part of the most exacting critic. J. E. C.

Theology

EL SACRIFICIO EUCARISTICO DE LA ULTIMA CENA DEL SENOR SEGUN EL CONCILIO TRIDENTINO. Por Manuel Alonso, S.J. Professor de la Universidad Pontificia de Comillas. Pp. xxii + 544. Madrid: Editorial "Razón y Fe." 1929. 25 pesetas.

In the discussions aroused by the works of Father de la Taille and Bishop MacDonald on the Sacrifice of the Mass, no point was more keenly controverted than the relation of the Last Supper to the Sacrifice of the Cross. Were the Supper and Calvary two sacrifices numerically distinct, or constituent elements of one sacrifice? Had the Supper in itself all the essential elements of a full and perfect sacrifice? What is the doctrine of the Council of Trent on this point? The present work is devoted to answering this last question; to elucidating the precise meaning of the words of the conciliar decree, "obtulit in coena," as contrasted with the other words of the same sentence—"quamvis .... in ara crucis ... oblaturus erat." The method of inquiry is purely historical. After a preliminary chapter, devoted to an almost meticulously accurate delimitation of the scope of the inquiry, the point at issue is exhaustively studied in the errors of the heretics against which the definition was directed, in the pre-Tridentine Catholic theologians who defended the Catholic doctrine, in the discussions during the various stages of the Council itself, and finally in the Post-Tridentine theologians. A final chapter is devoted to a criticism of the theories which, in one way or another, regard the Supper and Calvary as forming constituent parts of one sacrifice.

We may say at once that this is the most thorough and exhaustive study of the question which has yet appeared. The amount of material collected is enormous; and as the quotations (which make up a large part of the book) are given in the original Latin, even a reader very slightly acquainted with Spanish will be able to use the volume to draw his own conclusions.

The author's conclusion is that the theory of the one sacrifice—"del unicismo in materia del sacrificio"—is excluded by the history of the Council; and, in the opinion of the present reviewer, he has demonstrated this point conclusively—at least as far as regards the oblation-immolation theory of Father de la Taille and Bishop MacDonald, which regards the Supper as the liturgical oblation and Calvary as immolation, and which consequently denies that Calvary without the Supper would have had all the

essential elements of a sacrifice. We add this restriction because the author seems to take the statement that the Supper was a distinct sacrifice in a very strict sense; in a sense which would exclude the view that both Mass and Supper were essentially relative sacrifices, so essentially relative that, just as the Mass would not be a sacrifice had not the Passion gone before, neither would the Supper were not the Passion to follow. This view of the author, which appears in his criticism of Father de la Taille in his final chapter (p. 427 *sqq.*), finds, it seems to me, no support in the history which precedes.

It is impossible within the space of a review to give any adequate idea of the wealth of historical material which leads to these conclusions. We may mention as particularly interesting, in the chapter on pre-Tridentine theology, the treatment of Cajetan (p. 47 *sqq.*), of Hosius (p. 63), and especially of St. Peter Canisius (p. 64 *sqq.*), so often cited by Father de la Taille in support of his theory. Already on the cover of the volume there appears the challenging quotation from Canisius: "Christus Dominus ex summo amore seipsum pro nobis *bis* obtulit—(1) in cruce . . . (2) in coena incruente." The famous quotation from the Catechism of Canisius receives a very different interpretation from that given by Father de la Taille. The long chapter (of more than one hundred and fifty pages) devoted to the discussions in the Council itself is perhaps the most valuable part of the book. It seems to prove conclusively, as was asserted by Dr. Ryan in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (May 1925), that the question at issue was not, whether the Supper and the Passion are one or two sacrifices, but whether the Supper was a sacrifice at all; and that in consequence the word "obtulit," when applied to the Supper and Calvary, signifies in both cases a complete sacrifice. The phrases which, at first sight, seem to support the theory of the one oblation morally persevering, such as "in coena coepit; in cruce consummavit," are also adequately discussed.

P. O'D.

LA SPIRITUALITE MEDIEVALE. Par Felix Vernet.
VIE CHRETIENNE ET VIE SPIRITUELLE. Introduction à l'étude de la théologie ascétique et mystique. Par Y.-E. Masson, O.P. Bibliothèque Catholique des Sciences Religieuses. Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1929. 12 fr. each.

THESE two volumes are the 21st and 23rd of the excellent series, Bibliothèque Catholique des Sciences Religieuses. The Abbé Vernet has achieved a miracle of compression, for he has put a

most readable account of Catholic spirituality from the beginnings of the Benedictines down to the dawn of the Jesuits into the brief space of 200 pages. The first part, dealing with the various schools and masters of the spiritual life, covers only 70 pages, and although crammed with names, dates and condensed information, it is nevertheless quite readable and quite free from the stuffy impression of a note book. In part two he deals with the spiritual doctrines of the period, and here he shows himself a master of his subject, being wonderfully thorough and luminous in his treatment of questions of the most varied types. As an English translation of this series is in course of publication by Sands & Co., those of our readers who have no French should look out for this volume of the Abbé Vernet in its English dress, for it will enlarge their knowledge of our Catholic forbears not in a dry manner, but with " sapid science."

Père Masson's volume is another most useful compendium of about the same length. It will give most readers all that they need in the way of instruction and information on the spiritual life. It covers the whole field of ascetico-mystical theology in broad yet clear outline, a full enough manual for most, and an excellent introduction to higher studies. Let us hope an English translation will soon appear ; for it seems to the present reviewer that this would be an excellent work to place in the hands of converts and enquirers and of all who desire to know something of the science of prayer as developed in Catholicism.

JOHN HOWLEY.

LES IDEES MORALES ET RELIGIEUSES DE METHODE D'OLYMPE. Par Jacques Farges. Paris : Beauchesne. 1929. 46 fr.

METHODE D'OLYMPE : Du Libre Arbitre. Traduction précédée d'une introduction sur les questions de l'origine du monde, du libre arbitre et du problème du mal dans la pensée grecque, judaïque et chrétienne avant Méthode. Par Jacques Farges. Paris : Beauchesne. 1929. 36 fr.

THE controversy about the influence of Hellenic thought on Christian philosophy and theology has provoked much heated and exaggerated writing from both parties. Assertions of the absolute subordination of the latter to the former have been answered by assertions of absolute independence. M. Farges, by his " slow and patient analysis of St. Methodius' works," offers us a solution or, as he modestly says, " elements of a solution " more objective and more *nuancée.* The Christian catechetical-school

of Alexandria was inevitably the meeting point of the two currents of thought. To Origen's genius fell the difficult task of co-ordination. The success of his effort has been disputed from the middle of the third century A.D. to our own day. Methodius, Bishop of Olympus in Lycia (or perhaps more probably of Philippi), and martyr for the Faith about 311, was the calmest and most influential writer of the more orthodox school. He was an enthusiastic admirer and almost slavish imitator of Plato; but he refused to accept several of the neo-platonic theses which the great Alexandrian Doctor had taught. He had lived to see the heterogeneous fruit which these graftings produced in the writings of Origen's disciples, and the use which Porphyrius could make of them. He therefore returned to a more traditional view on the composite unity of human nature and the relations of body and soul. He attacked the "new" theories of creation ab aeterno, the non-material identity of the risen body and the specific unity of the angels. He must be accorded credit for initiating that movement of more orthodox Christian Platonism which Augustine was to complete.

M. Farges has made excellent use of the material at his disposal. His appreciation of the old Slav version of Methodius' works, which, in Bonwetsch's translation of 1891 and critical edition of 1917, revealed to us three new dialogues and advanced our knowledge of the old, is generous but probably critical enough. His analysis of the Saint's literary plagiarism is based on Jahn's "Methodius Platonizans," but leaves in the reader's mind a much more favourable impression than that highly specialised work. The translation of the Virgins' Hymn from "The Banquet" is rather prosaic: the examination of its weird mixture of Oriental and Greek elements is well done. One is very surprised to find no index in either volume. But these small blemishes hardly deserve notice in a work of such useful erudition. D. N. H.

Miscellaneous

A HISTORY OF SCIENCE AND ITS RELATIONS WITH PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION. By William Cecil Dampier Dampier-Whetham, M.A., F.R.S. Cambridge University Press. 1929. 18s.

IN this book a serious attempt is made to tell the story of the growth of science, in its various aspects, from the earliest times. The author is a reliable authority and has a first-hand experience in scientific research, at least in one department. On the whole

the undertaking may be said to be successful—so far as any such attempt can ever be more than an attempt. It may be objected that, with the exception of mathematics and astronomy, the history of science, as it is understood to-day, does not go back more than a few centuries, and in some cases not nearly so far. So true is this that a more fitting title to the work would appear to be "A History of Scientific Thought."

Turning to the contents of the book we find the matter arranged under ten headings: Science in the ancient world; the middle ages; the renaissance; the Newtonian epoch; XIX century physics, biology, science and philosophic thought; recent developments in biology and anthropology; the new era in physics; scientific philosophy and its outlook. In such a vast survey of knowledge many matters of interest and importance must evidently be treated in a very general way, and many details must be omitted which in themselves are of importance. In fact the greatest difficulty presented by such an undertaking as this is to determine what should be included and what omitted. Probably no two readers would agree altogether on this point.

The book is written in a reverential spirit towards religion. On the whole the treatment of the attitude of the Catholic—the author would add "Roman"—Church towards scientific progress is fair, and the Church comes out of the examination exceedingly well, especially when it is remembered that the writer is by no means prejudiced in her favour. Nevertheless Mr. Dampier-Whethem, like so many who deal with this subject, loses sight of the fact that the primary duty of the Catholic Church has never been to promote secular knowledge, and that her paramount duty has ever been to teach and defend the truths of revealed religion, and to help men to live in such a way as to attain the final end of their existence, which is not confined to "time and space." Indeed it appears from these pages that the periods in which the Church showed herself most favourable towards secular learning were not those during which here best work was accomplished. If the facts involved in this statement were kept in view, historians would be fairer in their criticisms. Her attitude is like that of a watch-dog. Possibly there was over-zeal at times on the part of some of her leaders, and temporary mistakes. A stranger arouses her suspicions, and she has to satisfy herself that he is innocent and harmless before he is welcomed.

It would be impossible to deal with the subject matter of such a work in detail, and it would be ungenerous to pick small

holes in so ambitious an effort. One omission, however, cannot be passed over. There are several references to scholastic philosophy, but one seeks in vain for a statement of the important scholastic doctrine or theory of "matter and form." It is not enough to brush it all aside with a reference to the Encyclical of Leo XIII on the subject:—"Attempts were made to interpret mediaeval Scholasticism in terms of modern knowledge, or as much of such knowledge as could be accepted by orthodox theologians. The results can be said perhaps to have made terms between Scholasticism and some branches of science, rather than to have accepted the scientific spirit in its entirety (*sic*). Consequently they lie off the main road of enquiry which we are following, and we must turn to other developments."

In dealing with the work of Mendel it is stated that Mendel undertook his researches because he was not satisfied with the views of Darwin. However that may be, Mendel seems to have begun his famous experiments before the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. Referring to evolution, it is assumed that "Christian theology" has been forced to accept it as a fact. Even many advanced biologists prefer to look on evolution as a hypothesis.

The attitude of the Catholic Church towards evolution is not unlike her attitude towards the views of Galileo. They could be held as hypotheses until definite proofs of their truth were produced. We should not be reasonably surprised even now if the Holy Office of to-day were to deal somewhat strongly with anyone who undertook to prove from the Scriptures that evolution is an established fact.

The name of Boscovich is only mentioned once in a passing reference. In view of the new translation of his great work and considering his importance in the history of physical science, the views of Boscovich deserve notice. In a most remarkable way, nearly two hundred years ago, he stated clearly a fundamental principle which is now at the bâsis of the modern theory of relativity, and his views on the constitution of matter even now afford most useful applications to modern physical theories which rest on assumptions quite as arbitrary as any made by him.

In conclusion this book may be recommended as a very useful and inspiring history of scientific evolution, and as an excellent incitement to follow up special questions in more technical treatises. H. V. G.

THE LETTERS AND FRIENDSHIPS OF SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE. Edited by Stephen Gwynn. 2 vols. London: Constable. 1929. 30s. net.

Mr. Gwynn as editor of the Spring-Rice correspondence deserves to be congratulated on the very satisfactory accomplishment of a task of no little difficulty. In one respect his task was a congenial one to an editor of his literary tastes, for the correspondent whom he introduces was a born letter-writer—indeed one may say that his natural gifts fitted him much more clearly for literature than for diplomacy, though it must be admitted that it was his career as a diplomatist that gave scope for his literary talents to display themselves—the result of which is this very interesting collection of letters.

The correspondence included in these volumes begins early in Spring-Rice's career and is continued to the very close of his life in 1918. His vocation brought him into contact with the life of his times at angles which gave ample play to his pronounced epistolary talent. Constantinople, Teheran, Washington, Cairo, Berlin, St. Petersburgh furnished ample background for the literary qualities he so abundantly possessed. His letters are distinctly worth reading as embodying the sights and personal atmospheres of various interesting places viewed by an observer well qualified to present to others what he has seen and experienced. But one feels that his forte was primarily literature, and that diplomacy would not have lost much had letters, not statecraft, claimed him for her own.

Indeed, it is not too much to say that his vocation as diplomatist was to a large extent an unfortunate choice. He had intelligence and keen powers of observation, but one feels, as one goes through his letters, that these powers were confined to surface views, and were not capable of penetrating to the core of the forces that really determine the course of policy. It is true that in a sense he foresaw the conflict of 1914, but rather by way of a guess than by any clear realisation of the causes that made the cataclysm inevitable. He was afraid of Russia, as his letters show time and again; but after the Anglo-Russian agreement his correspondence, so far as we can glean, shows no further distrust. His dislike seems to be submerged in the commonly accepted patriot's creed—the interests of one's country. There does not seem to be evident in the correspondence any suspicion that there was something incompatible in an alliance (or entente) between two countries so radically opposed, governmentally, as England and Russia.

It has been claimed for Spring-Rice that he was an important factor, as British Ambassador at Washington, in bringing America into the war on the side of the adversaries of Germany. It seems to us that this is a wholly unfounded claim, contradicted by the most patent facts. Whatever were the impelling motives, idealistic or realistic, America's entry into the war was not determined by the influence of Spring-Rice. He had the ear of the pro-British party from the first—but they would have been pro-British no matter what the diplomatic influences at work. That his influence was unimportant is shown by the casual manner in which his government terminated his services as Ambassador.

W. J. W.

SPAIN. A Companion to Spanish Studies. Edited by E. Allison Peers, M.A. London: Methuen. 1929. 12s. 6d.

THE Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool has already been congratulated in this Review on his scholarly studies in Spanish mysticism. Mr. Peers now adopts the rôle of editor of a work, the primary aim of which is "to be a companion to Spanish studies, to do something towards the broadening of those studies by providing all who pursue them with a fund of information which is necessary as a background to their reading." In view of this, many readers will object that too much space is allotted to literature—a third part of the book—while "Spanish Architecture and Sculpture" gets only twenty-four pages, "Spanish Painting" twenty-four, and "Spain: the Country, its People and Languages" twenty-eight.

In a symposium which aims at doing justice to such innumerable interests, there is almost inevitably a certain unevenness in matter and style. Those who are meant to profit by the work—the academic student in need of "broadening," the intelligent traveller and the general reader—will be best pleased with the last three chapters just mentioned. The writer of the chapter on "Spanish History to 1492" might have spared us the great mass of detail uncalled-for in such a book; but all and sundry will turn for something really good to the last chapter, contributed by that staunch friend of Spain, Mr. Aubrey F. G. Bell. In the space of twenty-eight pages, this writer provides a trustworthy summary of the political, social, financial and economic conditions of Spain from the year 1898 down to the fifth year of Primo de Rivera's Directory.

This volume ought to be of great assistance to students in their efforts to assimilate Spanish ideals and Spanish culture.

Its value as a work of reference is increased by the inclusion of an excellent index and three maps. In a future edition we should like to see the name of some competent Catholic writer at the head of a chapter on "Spain and the Church." J. P. H.

Books Received

AIGRAIN, RENE ... La Musique religieuse. (Bloud & Gay, 12 fr.).
ANGER, JOSEPH ... Doctrine du Corps Mystque de Jésus-Christ. (Beauchesne, 40 fr.).
AUFFRAY, A. ... Le Bienheureux Don Bosco. (Vitte, 20 fr.).
AGRINHAC, H. A. ... Constitution of the Church in the New Code of Canon Law. (Longmans, 12/6).
Administrative Legislation in the New Code of Canon Law. (Longmans, 12/6).
BERTINI, UGO ... Pie XI et la Médecine au service des Missions. (Bloud & Gay, 6 fr.).
BOYLE, DOUGLAS J. ... On Literary Fertility. (Scarborough: The Author, 1/–).
BRIAULT, R. P. M. ... Polythéisme et Fétichisme. (Bloud & Gay, 12 fr.).
BUCHAN, JOHN ... The Causal and Casual in History. (Cambridge Press, 2/–).
CABROL, DOM ... La Prière des Premiers Chrétiens. (Grasset, 12 fr.).
CAMPBELL, JAMES M. The Greek Fathers. (Harrap, 5/–).
CHAPMAN, DOM ... Saint Benedict and the Sixth Century. (Sheed & Ward, 10/6).
CHASE, STUART ... Men and Machines. (Cape, 10/6).
CHERANCE, LEOPOLD DE Saint Francis of Assisi. (Talbot Press, 5/–).
CLEGG, AILEEN M. ... Lourdes. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
CONWAY, BERTRAND ... The Question Box. New edition. (Paulist Press, 10 cents).
CRAM, RALPH ADAMS ... The Catholic Church and Art. (Burns Oates, 4/–).
CRIST, ALICE G. ... "Go it! Brothers." (Sydney: Pellegrini, 4/6).
CROFTON, WILLIAM ... Cuchulain; The Wooing of Emer; Deirdre of the Sorrows. Three Operas. (Talbot Press, 2/– each).
DEVAS, DOMINIC ... The Franciscan Order. (Burns Oates, 3/6).
DREVES, F. M. ... The African Chronicles of Brother Giles. (Sands, 5/–).
DUNFORD, JOHN ... Practical Suggestions for the Newly Ordained. (Burns Oates, 3/6).
EBERS, GODEHARD ... Katholische Staatslehre und volksdeutsche Politik. (Herder, 5.60 M.; 7 M. (cloth).
EVANGELIST, FR. JOHN The Kingdom of God in the Soul. (Sheed & Ward, 5/–).
FINN, MARY A. ... Monica's Trial. (Sydney: Pellegrini, 4/6).
FLOWER, ROBIN ... Ireland and Medieval Europe. (Milford, 2/–).
FOLIGNO, CESARE ... Latin Thought during the Middle Ages. (Clarendon Press, 5/–).
GASELEE, STEPHEN ... The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse. (Clarendon Press, 8/6).
GLOVER, T. R. ... Influence of Christ in the Ancient World. (Cambridge Press, 5/–).
GOODIER, ARCHBISHOP Saints for Sinners in nine Studies. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
GRANT, IAN R. ... The Testimony of Blood. (Burns Oates, 3/6).
HARTE, FELIX ... Life and my Life. (Cahill, pp. 57).
JACQUIER, EUGENE ... La Parole de Dieu. (Grasset, 12 fr.).
JANIN, R. P. ... Les Eglises séparées d'Orient. (Bloud & Gay, 12 fr.).
JORDAN, HERBERT ... Reminders for Company Promoters. (Jordan, 2/6).
JOURNEL, ROUET DE ... Enchiridion Asceticum. (Herder, 13 M.; 15 M. (cloth).
KNOX, HOWARD V. ... The Evolution of Truth and other Essays. (Constable, 10/6).
KORTLEITNER, F. X. ... De antiquis Arabiae incolis eorumque cum religione Mosaica rationibus. (Rauch, 3 M.).
LAGRANGE, M. J. ... The Gospel according to Saint Mark. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
LEGENDRE, MGR. ... The Cradle of the Bible. (Sands, 3/6).
LEMAN, A. ... The Church in Modern Times, 1447-1789. (Sands, 3/6).
LEPIN, M. ... Jésus-Christ. Son Existence historique et sa Divinité. (Bloud & Gay, 36 fr.).

LERCHER, LUDOVICUS ... Institutiones Theologiae Dogmaticae. Vol. 4. De Virtutibus, De Sacramentis, De Novissimis. (Innsbruck: Rauch, 13 M.).

LESAGE, ROBERT ... La Sainte Messe selon les Rites Orientaux. (Aubanel Fils, 12 fr.).

LONGFIELD, ADA K. ... Anglo-Irish Trade in the 16th Century. (Routledge, 12/6).

MCELROY, R. A. ... Blessed Cuthbert Mayne, Protomartyr of the English Seminaries. (Sands, 3/6).

MACKINNON, JAMES ... Luther and the Reformation. Vol. IV. (Longmans, 16/–).

MAHONEY, E. J. ... The Secular Priesthood. (Burns Oates, 6/–).

MARITAIN, JACQUES ... Art and Scholasticism, with other Essays. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).

MARTINDALE, C. C. ... The Cup of Christ. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).

MARXUACH, FRANCISCUS Compendium Theologiae Naturalis. (Razón y Fe, 3.50 pesetas).

MAUTNER, WILHELM ... Der Kampf um und gegen das russische Erdöl. (Vienna: Manz, 7.50 M.).

MICHEL, A. ... The Last Things. (Sands, 3/6).

MILLIKAN, ROBERT ... Science and the New Civilization. (Scribner, 7/6).

MOLO, WALTER VON ... Brother Luther. (Cobden-Sanderson, 7/6).

MORDACQ, GENERAL ... Pouvait-on signer l'armistice à Berlin ? (Grasset, pp. 239).

MORINEAU, R. M. ... La Sainte Vierge. (Bloud & Gay, 12. fr.)

Ó BRIAIN, LIAM ... Géograif don Ghaedheal Óg. Éire. (Educational Co. of Ireland, 4/-).

O'BRIEN, EDW. J. ... The Dance of the Machines. (Cape, 7/6).

OGAIN, ROIS NI ... Duanaire Gaedhilge. Vol. III. (Educational Co. of Ireland, 3/6).

O'MAHONY, JAMES E. The Desire of God in the Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas. (Educational Co. of Ireland, 10/6).

OUDARD, GEORGES ... La Vie de Pierre le Grand. (Plon, 16 fr.).

PUNIET, DOM PIERRE DE Le Pontifical Romain. Histoire et Commentaire. Tome I. (Desclée de Brouwer, pp. 300).

PURDIE, ALBERT B. ... Life of Blessed John Southworth, Priest and Martyr, 1592-1654 (Burns Oates, 6/–).

ROCHE, W. ... Daybreak in the Soul. (Longmans, 3/6).

ROGERS, ROBERT WM. A History of Ancient Persia. (Scribner, 30/-).

ROULIN, DOM E. ... Linges, Insignes et Vêtements liturgiques. Orné de 351 gravures. (Lethielleux, 45 fr.).

SCHERMERHORN, E. W. Malta of the Knights. (Heinemann, 35/–).

SCHNORR, J. ... L'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament disposés sous forme de récits suivis et illustrés de nombreuses gravures. (Lethielleux, 25 fr.).

SHUSTER, GEORGE N.... The Catholic Church and Current Literature. (Burns Oates, 4/-).

SOUPAULT, PHILIPPE ... Le Grand Homme. (Editions Kra, 15 fr.).

SULL, CH. VAN ... Léonard Lessius, S.J. (Museum Lessianum, 40 fr.).

TENNANT, F. R. ... Philosophical Theology. Vol. II. (Cambridge Press, 15/–).

WALSH, PAUL ... The Will and Family of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone. (Colm Ó Lochlainn, 4/-).

The Life of Emilie de Vialar, Foundress of the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition, 1797-1856. By a Member of the Congregation. (Sands, 5/-).

La Bienheureuse Jeanne de France. Par une Religieuse Annociade. (Aubanel Fils, 2 fr. 50).

School History of Ireland. From the Colonization to the Confiscations. By a Professor of History. (Gill, 1/6).

La Joie dans l'Année liturgique. Par un Professeur de Séminaire. (Aubanel Fils, 7 fr. 80).

Soixante Années de Théologie. Numéro jubilaire de la *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*. (Museum Lessianum, 7 fr. 50).

La Médicine dans les Missions. Conférences données à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. (Bloud & Gay. 14 fr.).

The Sino-Russian Crisis. (Nanking: The International Relations Committee, pp. 105).

Census of Population (1926). Vol. V, Part I. Ages, Orphanhood and Conjugal Conditions. (Stationery Office, 2/3).

The Catholic Who's Who, 1930. (Burns Oates, 5/–).

The Catholic Directory, 1930. (Burns Oates, 3/6).

(*The prices of all books in this list are net*),

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DIRECTORS:

MARTIN FRANCIS MAHONY, ESQ., Chairman.

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CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR, ESQ.
ALFRED T. COLLINS, ESQ., General Manager.

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street

HEAD OFFICE—COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 27th day of January, 1930.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1929, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£46,419 10 11
To which has to be added:—	
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	30,022 19 8
	£76,442 10 7
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£10,000 0 0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—	
In payment (subject to deduction of Income Tax) of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Twelve and a half per cent per annum, (£31,250), and a Bonus of One per cent. (£5,000) for the year 1929	36,250 0 0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	5,000 0 0
To next Account	25,192 10 7
	£76,442 10 7

The Reserve Fund now stands at £670,000

The Directors retiring by rotation are MR. MARTIN FRANCIS MAHONY and MR. THOMAS LEVINS MOORE. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election.

In accordance with the provisions of the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, it will be necessary for the Shareholders to elect an Auditor for the ensuing year. MR. JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, the present Auditor, offers himself for re-election.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 13th January 1930.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1929. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	750,445	0	1
Reserve Fund	670,000	0	0	,, Investments, viz.:—			
Bank's Consolidated Notes in Circulation	370,532	0	0	War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans and other Government Stocks ...	5,652,507	3	7
Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	11,913,597	15	10	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	227,655	11	3
Sundry Agents	34,036	19	3		6,630,607	14	11
Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	7,756	7	3	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	6,636,773	12	1
Profit and Loss Account ... £76,442 10 7				,, Sundry Agents	77,311	10	6
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0				,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	217,672	15	5
	66,442	10	7				
	£13,562,365	12	11		£13,562,365	12	11

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 31st December, 1929.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Inland Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	100,536	18	3	By Balance from last Account ...	30,022	19	8
Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000	0	0	,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	146,956	9	2
Dividend to be paid in February, 1930, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... 31,250 0 0							
Bonus of 1% for Year 1929 ... do. 5,000 0 0							
Bank Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0							
Balance to next Acct. 25,192 10 7							
	66,442	10	7				
	£176,979	8	10		£176,979	8	10

AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have quired in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing ofit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on st December, 1929, is in excess of the amount at which they nd in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's airs according to the best of my information and the explana-ns given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company d the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
BLIN, 13th January, 1930. Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

MARTIN F. MAHONY
T. LEVINS MOORE,
WILLIAM R. NOLAN, } *Directors.*

ALFRED T. COLLINS, *General Manager.*

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